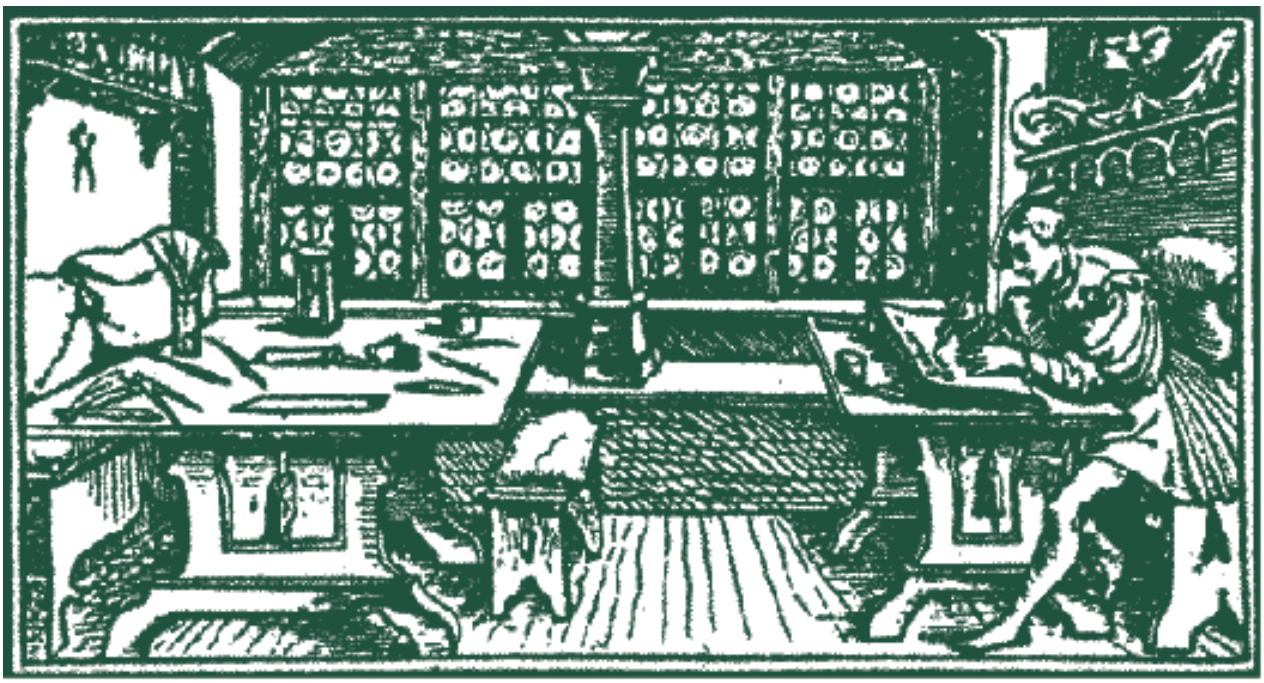
STUDIA UNIVERSITATIS
BABEŞ-BOLYAI



PHILOLOGIA

1/2013

STUDIA UNIVERSITATIS BABEŞ-BOLYAI

SERIES

PHILOLOGIA

EDITORIAL OFFICE: 31st Horea Street, Cluj-Napoca, Romania, Phone: +40 264 405300

REFEREES:

Prof. dr. Ramona BORDEI BOCA, Université de Bourgogne, France
Prof. dr. Sharon MILLAR, University of Southern Denmark, Odense
Prof. dr. Gilles BARDY, Aix-Marseille Université, France
Prof. dr. Rudolph WINDISCH, Universität Rostock, Deutschland
Prof. dr. Louis BEGIONI, Università degli Studi di Roma "Tor Vergata", Italia

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF:

Prof. dr. Corin BRAGA, Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca, Romania

EDITOR COORDINATOR:

Prof. dr. Ioana BOT, Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca, Romania

SECRETARY OF THE EDITORIAL BOARD:

Conf. dr. Ştefan GENCĂRĂU, Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca, Romania

MEMBERS:

Prof. dr. Rodica LASCU POP, Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca, Romania
Prof. dr. G. G. NEAMȚU, Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca, Romania
Prof. dr. Jean Michel GOUVARD, Université de Bordeaux 3, France
Prof. dr. Sophie SAFFI, Aix-Marseille Université, France

TRANSLATORS:

Dana NAŞCA-TARTIÈRE, Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca, Romania
Annamaria STAN, Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca, Romania
Virginie SAUVA, Aix-Marseille Université, France

YEAR **Volume 58 (LVIII) 2013**
MONTH **MARCH**
ISSUE **1**

S T U D I A
UNIVERSITATIS BABEŞ-BOLYAI
PHILOLOGIA

1

EAST ASIAN STUDIES
Issue Coordinator: Rodica Frenţiu

EDITORIAL OFFICE: M. Kogălniceanu 1 • 400084 Cluj-Napoca • Tel: 0264.405300

SUMAR - SOMMAIRE - CONTENTS – INHALT

YOSHIHIKO IKEGAMI, Empathy and Reader-Responsibility – How to Come to Terms with Haiku Poems ∗ *Empatia şi responsabilitatea cititorului – cum să descifrezi poemul haiku*..... 5
FUMITO SHIMIZU, Fascinating, but Unanswered: A Challenge for Contemporary Linguists ∗ *Fascinant, dar fără răspuns: o provocare pentru lingviştii contemporani* 13
TOSHIYUKI SADANOBU, Structural Reversal between Written and Spoken Languages in Japanese ∗ *Inversiunea structurală dintre limbajul scris şi cel oral în limba japoneză*..... 21
FENG SHAOZHONG, CHEN HAIFANG, Explore the Task-Based International Chinese Teaching Model in the Context of Cross-Culture Communication – A Case Study of the "Language-Game" Theory in the Confucius Institute ∗ *Explorând modelul internaţional de predare a limbii chineze bazat pe obiective specifice în contextul dialogului inter-cultural. Studiu de caz al teoriei "Jocului de vorbire" în cadrul Institutului Confucius* 35
FLORINA ILIS, The Theme of "Spirit Possession": Murasaki Shikibu, *Genji Monogatari*, Zeami, *Aoi-No-Ue* and Yukio Mishima, *Aoi* ∗ *Tema "posesiunii spiritelor":* Murasaki Shikibu*, Genji monogatari,* Zeami*, Aoi no Ue şi* Yukio Mishima*, Aoi*..... 45

MATTHEW KÖNIGSBERG, The Modernization of Japanese Literature a Brief Comparative Perspective ∗ *Modernizarea literaturii japoneze: O scurtă privire contrastivă* 57
RODICA FRENȚIU, L'intertextualité en tant qu'indice polyphonique: Mori Ōgai, *Seinen* (*Le Jeune Homme*), 1910 ∗ *Intertextualitatea ca indice polifonic: Mori Ōgai, Seinen (Tânărul), 1910* 67
REIKO OTA, Study on the Music in the Works of Haruki Murakami - From "*Kaze No Uta Wo Kike* (*Hear The Wind Sing*)" to "*Dansu Dansu Dansu (Dance Dance Dance)*"- ∗ *Studiul muzicii în scrierile lui Haruki Murakami - De la "Kaze no uta wo kike* (*Ascultă cum cântă vântul*)" *la "Dansu dansu dansu (Dans, dans, dans)"* 83
WONSUK CHANG, A Reformation of Confucianism: Annotated Translation of the Prefaces to the *Penetration of Spiritual Configurative Energy* and to The *Records of Correlative Reasoning* ∗ *O reformă a confucianismului: Traducere adnotată a prefețelor la textele „Pătrunderea energiei spirituale configurative" și „Însemnări despre judecata corelativă"* 103
ANGELA HONDRU, *Hayachine-Kagura* – An Exquisite Bouquet of Dances ∗ *Hayachine-kagura, un buchet de dansuri sacre* 117
NATAŠA VISOČNIK, Perceptions of Space and Body within the Processes of Identification in Japan ∗ *Percepții ale spațiului şi corpului în procesele de identificare în Japonia* 127
GIOVANNI BORRIELLO, The Leonardo Da Vinci of Japan: Hiraga Gennai (1728–1780) ∗ *Hiraga Gennai (1728-1780): Leonardo Da Vinci al Japoniei* .. 141
KEN GARDINER with PANKAJ MOHAN, Reading the Text as a *Prasasti* (Panegyric): A Fresh Approach Towards King Kwanggaet'o Stele ∗ *Lectura unui text ca Prasasti (panegiric): O nouă abordare a monumentului regelui Kwanggaet'o* 147
ANDREW DAVID JACKSON, The 1728 Musin Rebellion (Musillan 戊申亂): Approaches, Sources and Questions ∗ *Răscoala Musin din 1728 (Musillan 戊申亂): Abordări, surse și întrebări* 161
DIANA YUKSEL, Korean Confucian Moral Self-Accomplishment and Postmodern Ethics ∗ *Desăvârşirea morală confucianistă și etica postmodernă* 173
CODRUȚA CUC, On the Meaning of Heritage in South Korea: The Case of Sungnyemun ∗ *Despre semnificația patrimoniului în Coreea de Sud: Cazul Sungnyemun* 185
FENG SHAOZHONG, YE LANTAO, Operating Mechanism and Sustainable Development of CI in the Vision of Comparative Education ∗ *Mecanisme de funcționare și dezvoltare de durată a IC din perspectiva educației comparative* 197
JERÔME DE WIT, The War Within: Motivations for Writing During the Korean War (1950-1953) ∗ *Războiul dinăuntru: motivații pentru a scrie în timpul Războiului Coreean (1950-1953)* 203
MARKUS BELL, "We're So Happy to Have You Here (But We'd Rather You Hadn't Come)": Exclusion, solidarity and network building of North Korean refugees ∗ *"Ne bucurăm atât de mult că sunteți aici (dar am fi preferat să nu veniți)": Excluderea, solidaritatea şi construcția de rețele sociale a refugiaților nord-coreeni* 221

KWAK DONG HUN, Strategic Propaganda through North Korean Films: A New Approach ∗ *Propagandă strategică prin intermediul filmelor nord-coreene. O nouă abordare*..... 231
OANA-MEDA PĂLOȘANU, The Crisis of Identity in Joy Kogawa's *Obasan* ∗ *Criza identității în "Obasan" de Joy Kogawa*..... 245
LOREDANA CĂPĂȚÎNĂ, Reordering the World: Purity in Yukio Mishima's the Sea of Fertility ∗ *Reordonarea lumii: Puritatea în Marea Fertilității lui Yukio Mishima*..... 257

RECENZII - COMPTES RENDUS - BOOK REVIEWS

NAGAI KAFŪ, *O poveste neobișnuită la răsărit de râul Sumida* (*A Strange Tale from East of the River)*, traducere de Rodica Frențiu, Cluj-Napoca: Casa Cărții de Știință, 2011, 85 p. (CODRUȚA ROXIN)..... 267
LAFKADIO HEARN, *Japonia lui Lafcadio Hearn. Antologie de Donald Richie*, (Lafcadio Hearn's Japan: An Anthology of His Writings), Bucureşti: Humanitas, 2010, 280 p. (OANA-MEDA PĂLOȘANU) 268
RODICA FRENȚIU, *Clar-obscur, vag și ambiguitate... Avataruri ale literaturii japoneze moderne și contemporane* [*Claire-obscure, Vagueness and Ambiguity… Hallmarks of Modern and Contemporary Japanese Literature*], Cluj-Napoca: Casa Cărții de Știință, 2010, 230 p. (ELISABETA-LEPOSAVA POPESCU)..... 270

STUDIA UBB PHILOLOGIA, LVIII, 1, 2013, p. 5 - 11
(RECOMMENDED CITATION)

EMPATHY AND READER-RESPONSIBILITY – HOW TO COME TO TERMS WITH HAIKU POEMS

YOSHIHIKO IKEGAMI[1]

ABSTRACT. ***Empathy and Reader-Responsibility. – How to Come to Terms with Haiku Poems.*** Haiku is said to be the shortest poetic form in the world, and yet it has firmly established itself as a literary genre in Japan and its popularity is now spreading all over the world. The present paper addresses the paradox of haiku poetry, namely it is so short and yet so functional. It argues that its functionality is supported by the characteristic stance of Japanese speakers in their use of language as a means of communication, namely empathy and 'reader responsibility'.

Keywords: haiku translation, empathy, reader-responsibility, emptiness

REZUMAT. ***Empatia şi responsabilitatea cititorului – cum să descifrezi poemul haiku.*** Se spune despre haiku că ar fi cea mai scurtă formă poetică din lume, în timp ce ea s-a fixat ferm ca un gen literar în Japonia, iar popularitatea ei se răspândeşte acum în toată lumea. Lucrarea de faţă ridică problema paradoxului poeziei de tip haiku, acela că aceasta este atât de scurtă şi totuşi atât de funcţională. Prezentul articol argumentează că funcţionalitatea poeziei este sprijinită de postura caracteristică vorbitorilor de japoneză, de modul în care aceştia întrebuinţează limba drept mijloc de comunicare, fiind legată de empatie şi `responsabilitatea cititorului`.

Cuvinte-cheie: traducere haiku, empatie, responsabilitatea cititorului, gol/vid

A paradox about Japanese haiku poetry is that it is alleged to be the shortest poetic form in the world and yet it can function to be a piece of artistic work. Thus reactions to one and the same haiku poem may vary, not only between individual readers but also between people of different cultures. Let me give an example. (1) below is one of the most celebrated piece of haiku in Japan, a piece by Basho (1644-1694), probably the best-known haiku master in Japan. It is given together with a word-for-word gloss and a literal translation in English. This is followed

[1] Educated at Tokyo University (B.A. and M.A. in English) and Yale University (M.Phil. and Ph.D. in linguistics). Professor emeritus, Tokyo University, majoring in linguistics (esp. cognitive semantics), semiotics (esp. cultural semiotics) and poetics.

by its four English translations , (1a) by D.Keene, (1b) by E. Seidensticker, (1c) by W. J. Porter, and (1d) by W. J. Page, all of whom were university professors of either Japanese or comparative literature in the U.S. at the time of translation.

(1) Furuikeyakawadzutobikomumidzunooto.
Old pond discourse particle frog jump-in water's sound
(literally, OLD POND FROG JUMPING IN SOUND OF WATER)

(1a) The ancient pond
A frog leaps in
The sound of the water.

(1b) The quiet pond
A frog leaps in,
The sound of the water.

(1c) Into the calm old lake
A frog with flying leap goes plop!
The peaceful hush to break.

(1d) A lonely pond in age-old stillness sleeps …
Apart, unstirred by sound or motion … till
Suddenly into it a lithe frog leaps.

One hears from time to time from Japanese teachers who taught Japanese in the U.S. that on being presented with English translations like (1a) and (1b), American students typically react by responding with questions like "So what?" and "What of it?" They simply don't understand the point of the original work. On the other hand, if Japanese students are presented with English translation like (1c) and (1d), they will probably respond by saying, "These are mere paraphrases and are not translations at all!" All the four translations are judged to be either saying too little or saying too much.

Before proceeding to discuss our major problem of haiku paradox, we have to consider and keep in mind more specific linguistic problems necessarily involved in rendering a piece of text in one language into another language. The first phrase in Basho's acclaimed piece quoted in (1) above is *furuike*, glossed as 'old pond'. Any native speaker of Japanese who also knows English will agree that 'old pond' is the closest literal rendering in English of the original Japanese phrase, *furuike*. But look at translations (1a) and (1b) given above – translations, incidentally, by two of the most well-known American japanologists. Neither of them opts for using the word 'old ' intheir translations. What they offer actually are the words, 'ancient' and 'quite', both of which are semantically totally distinct from 'old'. What are the possible reasons for their diversions? The translators' motivation for using semantically diverging words will presumably be that the English phrase 'old pond' could evoke a very different image from the original Japanese phrase, *furuike*. How different could it be? According to a reviewer

(who is a native speaker of English) of a book on haiku in English (Sato 1983), "'Old pond' in English might suggest a stinking body of water, black, weedy and stagnant, …' (quoted in Sato 1987). Such an image being imposed on the acclaimed masterpiece, everybody will agree, would simply be a disaster. The avoidance of the use of the adjective 'old' can be accounted for in this way. But what can we say about the adjectives 'ancient' and 'quiet' actually chosen instead by the translators of (1a) and (1b)? The translator's motivation for opting for 'quiet' rather than 'old' in (1b) is transparent enough. The translator assumed the original poet's intention of contrasting the features of motion and sound associated with the frog jumping into the water with those of rest and silence associated with the pond, hence the adjective 'quiet' applied to the pond. The translator's motivation for opting for 'ancient' rather than 'old' in (1a) is a bit more delicate. Personally, I remember one occasion on which I encountered the expression 'ancient pond'. I was staying in an elegant hotel in Hawaii. There was a pool on the beach adjacent to the hotel building built in the manner of the age of King Kamehameha (who reigned over the Hawaiian Islands between 1810-1819). In the handbook on the hotel this pool was described as an 'ancient pond'. The adjective 'ancient' in translation (1a) is thus meant to imply something like 'reminiscent of the noble past times', thus excluding any uncomplimentary connotations.

Notice next that the phrase *furuike* ('old pond') is followed by the agglutinating particle *ya*. This particle is in fact very frequently used in the text of a haiku poem, especially at the end of the initial phrase (as in the present case). In the English translation, it is rendered as a semicolon, a colon or an exclamation mark, as the case may be or simply ignored. Actually however, it functionally plays an important role in haiku rhetoric. The indigenous technical term for it is 'kireji' (literally, 'cutting word'), its function being 'to cut the flow of the text'. Its rhetorical function is, however, paradoxical: its function is to cut the flow of the text, not to destroy the cohesion of the text, but rather to bring to the fore the contrast between the two parts of the text just separated by it. Thus in our present example, the cutting word *ya* separates the first phrase ('old pond') from the second and third phrases ('frog jumping in … sound of water'). By being separated, the emergent two portions of the text are now found standing in contrast to each other in terms of 'static' vs. 'dynamic' and 'silence' and 'sound'.

Next comes the word *kawadzu*, an old word for *kaeru* ('frog') in modern Japanese. Now Japanese nouns (including nouns referring to concrete, countable entities) do not morphologically distinguish between singular and plural. There are a couple of suffixes that are agglutinated to nouns to show plurality but their use is only optional. In most cases, the singularity-plurality distinction is dependent on context. This means that the word *kawadzu* as it stands, in the particular haiku poem we are now considering can be interpreted either as singular or plural. In fact, we have English translations which have 'a frog', on the one hand, and those which have 'frogs', on the other hand.

A survey (quoted by Sato (1983)) reveals that out of the one hundred English translations (both by native speakers of Japanese who know English and by non-native speakers of Japanese who know Japanese) of the haiku piece in question, ninety-eight render *kawadzu* in the singular and two in the plural. The result agrees with the intuition of the native speakers, to whom the image evoked by the piece usually contains only a single frog, the reason for their choice of the singular being that the point about the piece in question is 'the silence suddenly broken by a sound'. Extremely intriguing, however, is the fact that of the two English translations with the plural form, 'frogs', one is a translation by Lafcadio Hearn (1850-1904), a cosmopolitan writer of Irish-Greek descent,, who came to Japan in 1891 and chose to be naturalized as a Japanese citizen. Hearn is acclaimed as a person who had a deep understanding of Japanese culture and it is sometimes considered puzzling that a person like Hearn should opt for the image of the frog in the plural. Some critics suggest that this is exactly the scene of the garden Hearn himself used to witness from the window of the house he was staying. A linguistically more plausible interpretation however, will be that the plural form here refers to the number of times rather than to the number of entities. In other words, it may well be that what was actually witnessed was a repetition with some pause in between, of a frog jumping rather than a number of frogs jumping all at the same moment. It is interesting to note that in the written record describing the scene at which the haiku piece in question was created, we read 'the sound of FROG jumping into the water was sometimes [literally, not often] heard'. After the question about the number of FROG, the translators are encountered by the question of what verb to choose to describe the motion of the frog(s). The statistics in Sato (1987) give 60% for *jump*, 20% for *leap*, 12.6% for *plunge* and 7.4%for others. One can say that of the three most frequently chosen verbs, *jump* connotes dynamism, *leap* suggests elegance, and *plunge* specifies that the movement is into water. The Japanese verb, *tobikomu* is rather neutral when contrasted with any of the three English verbs cited. Any of the three can be well accommodated here.

The final phrase of the haiku piece in question is*midzu no oto* (literally, 'water's sound'). An alternative offered here to the translator is to use an onomatopoeic word (e.g. *plop* as in (1c)). It can be pointed out, however, that the use of onomatopoeic words is not common in haiku, except when the poet invents and uses a new short form for a new effect not covered by the already existing onomatopoeic words. One reason for the paucity of onomatopoeic words in haiku poetry is that the poetic form is too short to indulge in the luxury. A more real reason, however, will be --- and this is one of the central points I am going to discuss in the latter half of my article --- that the haiku poem presupposes no one-and-only-one 'correct' interpretation and that it rather is ready to lend itself to any number and any kind of interpretation that the reader may want to offer, so that anyone can appreciate it and enjoy it in his or her own way. It is like a socially open forum in which anyone can participate

with his or her own ideology intact. Using onomatopoeic words with socially encoded meanings (like 'plop') will certainly goes against this essence of haiku poetry. Simple descriptive statements like 'the sound of the water' will accommodate any reader as a possible creator of new meanings out of familiar images.

A quick review of the rich semantic potential encoded in the 'masterpiece' by Basho will remind us of the notion of 'ambiguity', such as the one advocated by William Empson, who defines 'ambiguity' as 'any verbal nuance, however slight, which gives room for alternative reactions to the same piece of language' (Empson 1956:1)Empson's definition of ambiguity does appear to be well applicable to the poetical essence of haiku poetry I have been talking about here. There is, however, a crucial difference to be noted. In the case of Empson, 'ambiguity' is primarily conceived of as something tactically encoded in the text by the author, which the reader is supposed to detect and appreciate. The interpretive process described by Empson gives us an impression of a work by an acute critic, who closely analyzes the text and brings to light the hidden treasures of meaning. The text of haiku poetry does not require of its readers anything so special and technical. Rather it welcomes and invites its readers to read themselves into the text. Notice a paradox here. It is ready to accept any interpretation, however private; it accommodates just anything, while it remains unchanged, always ready to accommodate. In other words, it is 'empty'.

Roland Barthes, who visited Japan briefly in the 1960's, saw 'emptiness' in a number of aspects of Japanese culture. Haiku poetry was found no exception and he offered the following comments in his *Empire of Signs*:

> … While being quite intelligible, the haiku means nothing and it is by this double condition that it seems open to meaning in a particularly available, serviceable way --- the way of a polite host who lets you make yourself at home with all your preferences, your values, your symbols intact; the haiku's "absence" (we say as much of a distracted mind as of a landlord off on a journey) suggests subornation, a breach, in short the major covetousness of meaning.

Barthes, in the passage quoted above, would have better talked about 'a polite hostess' rather than 'a polite host'. The image of the former would perhaps have agreed with Japanese sensibilities more than that of the latter. I any case, Barthes insightfully and beautifully accounted for an aspect of the 'paradox' of haiku poetry.

We could,, however, go a step still further and try to account for the 'paradox' in terms of the characteristic linguistic and psychological stances taken by the speakers of Japanese in their daily communication. First, their characteristic stance in communication through language. Here I would like to introduce you to a 'typology' proposed by John Hinds, an American Japanologist. The following quotation is from his paper in 1987:

> In this paper, I suggest a typology that is based on speaker and/or writer responsibility as opposed to listener and/or reader responsibility. What this means is that in some languages, such as English, the person primarily responsible for effective communication is the speaker, while in other languages, such as Japanese, the person primarily responsible for effective communication is the listener …. English speakers, by and large, charge the writer, or speaker, with the responsibility to make clear and well-organized statements ….
>
> In Japan, perhaps in Korea, and certainly in Ancient China, there is a different way of looking at the communication process. In Japan, it is the responsibility of the listener (or reader) to understand what it is that the speaker or author had intended to say.

Thus if there is a failure in communication, the responsibility is to be attributed to the speaker in one culture and to the listener in another culture. Hinds offers the following anecdote to illustrate the point:

> An American woman was taking a taxi to the Ginza Tokyu Hotel [in Tokyo]. The taxi driver mistakenly took her to the Ginza Daiichi Hotel. She said, "I'm sorry, I should have spoken more clearly." This, I take to be an indication of her speaker-responsible upbringing. The taxi driver demonstrated his listener-responsible background when he replied, "No, no, I should have listened more carefully".

There can be individual and circumstantial differences, of course, but I think I can accept Hinds' characterization as a general statement. What I want to emphasize in this connection is that haiku poetry is a literary genre which presupposes the 'reader-responsibility' stance on the part of its readers. On reading the piece on frog(s) by Basho we have been discussing, the typical Japanese reader will undergo an interpretive process (if I may say so) like the following: 'OLD POND–FROG JUMPING IN–SOUND OF WATER… this is what our haiku master witnessed –what did he feel or what was he thinking about when he was watching the scene? –suppose I were now sitting beside him, watching the same scene – how would I feel? – would I feel in the same way as the great master?– would what I feel be the same as, or different from, what our master had in mind? – if different, how different would it be and why?' and so forth. What at first was a collection of bits of fragmentary information could in this way be elaborated and expanded infinitely by reading one's own thoughts into it. Without such positive engagement on the part of the reader, the haiku piece remains insignificant, eliciting no more response than 'So what?'

The stance of 'reader-responsibility' in linguistic communication is naturally to be supported by positive mental readiness for empathy. You project yourself into the author, be at one with the author, first trying to re-experience

what the author (is supposed to have) experienced. All this while, however, you reserve your own possibilities --- possibilities to diverge from, and even to go beyond, the author.

REFERENCES

Barthes, Roland (1982 [1970]) *Empire of Signs*, London.

Empson, William (1956) *Seven Types of Ambiguity,* London.

Hinds, John (1987) 'Reader versus Writer Responsibility: A New Typology', in Conner U. and R. B. Kaplan, eds.: *Writing across Languages: Analysis of L2 Text*, Reading, MA.

Ikegami, Yoshihiko (1986) 'Semiotic Mechanism of the Empty Centre in Japanese Culture and Society', *Review of Asian Studies Association of Australia*, 10-1.

Ikegami, Yoshihiko (1998) 'Sign Conceptions in Japan' in R. Posner et al., eds.: *A Handbook on the Sign-Theoretic Foundations of Nature and Culture*, Vol. 2, Berlin.

Sato, Hiroaki (1983) *One Hundred Frogs: From Renga to Haiku to English*, New York.

Sato, Hiroaki (1987) *Eigo Haiku* (Haiku in English), Tokyo.

STUDIA UBB PHILOLOGIA, LVIII, 1, 2013, p. 13 - 19
(RECOMMENDED CITATION)

FASCINATING, BUT UNANSWERED: A CHALLENGE FOR CONTEMPORARY LINGUISTS

FUMITO SHIMIZU[1]

ABSTRACT. ***Fascinating, but Unanswered: A Challenge for Contemporary Linguists***. This paper aims at pointing out some difficulties and problems of descriptive linguistics under practical research situations. After briefly reviewing the history of descriptive linguistics, especially about synchronic and diachronic approaches in Section 1, Saussure's treatment of "time duration" in synchronic linguistics is discussed in the following Section. In Section 3, the restriction of the scope of Saussure's approach to linguistic research will be discussed, and Martinet's functional view of diachronic phonology will be introduced. In the following Section, the issue of descriptive and explanatory approach is discussed on the basis of Martinet's and Arisaka's frameworks on phonology. Both linguists regarded explanation as important elements in phonological researches. Finally, the problem concerning the distinction between "synchrony" and "diachrony" in descriptive linguistics is mentioned, and the complicated issue of language change, which is still unanswered, will be revealed.

Keywords: descriptive linguistics, historical linguistics, diachronic phonology, language changes

REZUMAT. ***Fascinant, dar fără răspuns: o provocare pentru lingviştii contemporani***. Această lucrare își propune să evidențieze câteva dificultăți și probleme ale lingvisticii descriptive în contextul situațiilor de cercetare practică. După o recapitulare succintă a istoriei lingvisticii descriptive, mai ales în ceea ce privește abordările sincronice și diacronice în secțiunea 1, în secțiunea următoare este discutat modul în care Saussure tratează „durata timpului" în lingvistica sincronică. În secținea 3 va fi discutată restricția razei de acțiune în abordarea lui Saussure a cercetării lingvistice și se va introduce viziunea funcțională a lui Martinet asupra fonologiei/foneticii diacronice. În secțiunea următoare este discutată problematica abordării descriptive și explicative pe baza teoriilor cadru despre fonologie/fonetică ale lui Martinet și Arisaka. Ambii lingviști au considerat explicația un element important în cercetările fonologice/fonetice. În final, este menționată problema ce privește distincția dintre „sincronie" si „diacronie" în

[1] Fumito Shimizu serves as the Vice President of Ehime University, and is in charge of International Affairs, as well as the Director of the Institute for International Relations. He is a professor at the Department of Humanities in the Faculty of Law and Letters. His major research interests include general linguistics, dialectology of the Ehime region, and Ancient Chinese phonology.

lingvistica descriptivă și va fi dezvăluită problema complicată a schimbării limbii, ce rămâne încă nerezolvată.

Cuvinte-cheie: lingvistică descriptivă, lingvistică istorică, fonologie/fonetică diacronică, schimbările limbii

1. Introduction: Descriptive Linguistics as an Explanatory Science

1.1

When we analyze language structures in descriptive linguistics, we encounter a variety of practical difficulties and problems. At the same time, there still exists a fundamental issue whether descriptive approaches follow the traditional descriptive frameworks, which simply focus on the description *per se*, or descriptivism should also be an explanatory discipline which explains how and why the structures of the language exist in those ways.

Since descriptive linguistics inquires the hidden system and structure of the language by analyzing apparently observable language phenomena; this approach is somewhat similar to anatomy, which dissects the body into pieces and consequently finds out a skeleton, or a framework, of the body. Once the framework of the body was made clear, it was natural that the discipline of analyzing the human body alive with flesh and blood became flourished. This development of anatomy is analogous to the reaffirmation of geo-linguistics and the development of sociolinguistics.

1.2

The call for treating linguistics as an explanatory science, however, was more deeply recognized by historical linguists, rather than by descriptive linguists. From descriptive linguists' viewpoint, it is the history itself that explains the states of language phenomena described, and what "to explain" the states of language phenomena means to them is to make the processes through which each language phenomenon undergoes explicit. Historical linguistics should not be confined within the description of the processes of language changes, but also need to explain why and/or how those changes occurred. It is a challenging problem for present-day historical linguists.

The distinction between "synchronic linguistics" and "diachronic linguistics," named by Saussure, is now treated as "descriptive linguistics" and "historical linguistics," respectively. Diachronic linguistics is now called historical linguistics, and at the same time, targets and approaches of the discipline went through changes too. While Saussure excluded the concept "system" and focused on "phonological changes" in his diachronic researches, present-day historical linguistics includes researches of historical changes of language "system." This is where we can find the fundamental reason for linguistics to be treated as an explanatory science.

2. Some Remarks on Synchrony and Diachrony of Language

2.1

The distinction between "synchrony" and "diachrony" raises some problems. In fact, Saussure himself mentions the problem of this distinction in his *Course in General Linguistics*. For example, when we talk about the synchronic state of a language, we cannot dissect the language at one moment and grasp the state of the language without the notion of time. According to Saussure, synchronic state of a language is logically analyzable; in practice, synchronic state includes some time duration, which could be ten years, one generation, or one century. Within certain time duration, languages change; however, those language changes are small enough to be neglected in practical analysis. Compared with language changes in synchronic state, language changes observable in pre and post state are far larger and cannot be neglected. The relation between synchronic state of the language and time duration stands this way.

2.2

In order to pursue practical researches, the simplification of data processing is unavoidable. Some scholars say that even in one of the most elaborating research fields, like in mathematics, logarithm calculates the n^{th} decimal place and omits smaller decimals. Although Saussure advocated the significance of spoken languages as the main research subject of linguistics, his view of this simplification is deeply rooted in his image of the language as static and fixed state of written languages. Consequently, this talented comparative Indo-European linguist did not launch a research on spoken state of the language.

While the written language exhibits its fixed and uniform states, the spoken language shows its aspects of diversity and dynamism. Recognizing those unstable aspects of spoken language, Saussure claims that people's will to share a common language makes each person have a dictionary, which metaphorically explains how "*langue*" exists.

2.3

Historical approach is implemented to "explain" synchronic states of the language when the instability of the language should be elucidated; furthermore, the idea that historical viewpoint should also be necessary in describing language as a system is now prevailing. At the same time, diachronic approach to the language, or historical linguistics, has undergone modifications of research targets and contents. This may sound too simplified a view, but it has been interpreted that Saussure simplified his explanations to meet the situations of his university lectures.

3. Foundation of Diachronic Phonology

3.1

For simplicity, Saussure set phonetic changes at the center of diachronic linguistic researches, and commented that there exist many cases where changes of grammatical systems can also be explained as consequences of phonetic changes. This does not necessarily mean that phonetic changes are the only observable diachronic facts. Although we have to consider "history of grammar," we have to be careful about that issue since it is too complicating to distinguish between chronological and diachronic aspects about grammatical phenomena. In addition, Saussure treats every issue which has no direct relationship with language system as external factors. He distinguishes internal linguistics from external linguistics, which leads to the restriction of the scope of Saussure's approach to linguistic research. Language changes caused by racial migration and/or contact with different languages, or sociological effects on languages are some of the issues excluded as external linguistics.

3.2

Saussure considers phonetic changes as regular rules observable in each sound, and phonological system has no direct relationship in the changes. Saussure views "system" of language as the system of linguistic signs. Linguistic signs consist of the connections of sound and meaning, and system is formed due to competing relational network of each sign. The notion "phonetic system" was just about to appear and needed further clarification and elucidation at that time.

After the disciplinary separation of phonetics and phonology, and the introduction of the notion "phonetic system," quite a few scholars have tried to seek the foundational concept of their distinction upon "parole" and "langue," respectively. Saussure's phonetics deals with historical changes of sounds, while his phonology excludes historical, or diachronic, viewpoints in analyzing linguistic sounds. Generally speaking, phonology, in Saussure's sense, deals with sound units, i.e. sound [p] or sound [t]. Only when these sound units are studied with adjacent sound units within word forms, Saussure used the technical term "phoneme." Therefore, we should keep in mind that Saussure's term "phoneme" does not perfectly correspond with the term phoneme used in modern linguistics.

3.3

Martinet, from functional point of view, proposed the notion "double articulation," where utterances are first divided into "monemes" consisting of minimum units of meaning as the primary articulation. Monemes are further divided into "phonemes" consisting of minimum units of sound as the secondary articulation. These phonemes form a certain system. Therefore, phonological changes are treated as

changes of a system, and then causes of phonological changes become able be explained within a system. This is where diachronic phonology was founded.

4. Diachronic Phonology as an Explanatory Science

4.1

Regarding the issue of "description" and "explanation," there still remain some problems as follows: (1) whether descriptive linguistics should be contended with simply describing language phenomena or not, (2) how and why languages now exist like the way they are, and (3) how language history can be explained. Linguists in the 19th century found the regularity of sound changes and excitedly named them sound laws, but they never went further to try to explain the nature of the sound changes, but rather their interests oriented towards comparative linguistics. Bloomfield, who was largely influenced by European neo-grammarians, states that the reasons of phonetic changes are "unknown." American structural linguistics, represented by Bloomfield, aimed at founding linguistics as an exact science; therefore, those linguists were contented with showing "how" languages existed those ways, but never advanced further to explain "why." On the other hand, there was a dispute that since language is considered to be one area of human behavior, then linguistics should be able to explain "why" problems.

4.2

Martinet, in trying to establish his diachronic phonology, claims that linguistics should not be restricted only to be a descriptive science, but should aim at being recognized as an explanatory science. His idea was not totally novel, but was not recognized widely yet. In Japan in 1940, Hideyo Arisaka (1908-1952) in his doctoral dissertation *Phonology* explained the factors of phonological changes with abundant data. Arisaka's phonology has the basis on the speaker's phonological notions, and separates the causes of phonological changes as causes either related to the purposes of linguistic expressions or unrelated to them. Arisaka identifies the latter as changes and influences happening in adjacent areas outside linguistic expressions and activities, or physical and/or psychological changes. Regarding the former category, Arisaka mentions that human desires have something to do with phonological changes. Those desires can be divided into desires to make expressing measures easier and desires to make pronunciation clearer. Both desires function, in fact, contrarily: e.g. the desire to pronounce easily contradicts the desire to pronounce clearly. What makes the issue complicated is related to the fact that the contradicting desires work at the same time to force the language to change. Language changes are affected by those contradicting forces. The similar contradicting phenomenon can be seen in the issue of language differentiation and integration.

4.3

Martinet explains in his *Économie des changements phonétiques: Traité de phonologie diachronique* (1955) that when one element in the phonological system moves, the effect of its movement forces other elements to move; and consequently, the system itself changes. Each phoneme has its own range, or scope of coverage; among the ranges of each phoneme, safety zones exist. If one phoneme moves beyond its safety zone, confusion, or mixing-up, occurs. That is why each phoneme should be pronounced within its range. Under the circumstances, one phoneme moves; its movement influences other phonemes. One phoneme pushes others and others try to pull it back. This is why system change occurs.

5. Conclusion: On the Nature and Complexity of Language Changes

5.1

Considering utterances as manifestations of human language behaviors, we are conscious of meaningful word unit in language usages, but unconscious of each phonetic unit. Therefore, the existence of the range and safety zone of each phoneme seems controversial; however, we can find some interesting remarks on the reason why certain phonemes move. The laziness of human beings in pronunciation is involved; in other words, the idea of "economy," i.e., trying to give maximum effects by using minimum efforts, works in human speech. Another explanation has something to do with asymmetrical structure of human speech organs. Unlike structural linguistic view that considers human speech organs to be symmetric, the frontal area of the mouth is wider, while the rear area becomes narrower. In addition, the front part of the tongue moves delicately, while the back part works rather dully. Some say that the asymmetrical structure of human speech organs also affects the phonological changes.

5.2

During the World War II, Martinet made questionnaire surveys to people from variety of regions in POW. After the war in 1973, he published *Dictionnaire de la prononciation française dans son usage réel*. Before this publication, in his *Économie* he frequently mentions the phonological system of the dialect of Hauteville, which is his mother's hometown. In general, the changes in standard language are greatly influenced by conservatism of the written language, while dialects in rural regions have less direct connection with the formalism of the written language and have lesser forces to prevent the spoken language from changing. Dialects spoken in a large urban area, where the standard language is prevailed, are affected by migration of people from different regions and thus a variety of elements are mingled and different dialects coexist. It is a matter of vogue and popularity whether a certain dialect survives or not.

5.3

Unlike physical phenomenon in the nature, the language changes in which human beings are involved are affected by popularity. The old form and the new form coexist; the one which follows the fashion of the era will survive. The issue of language change is complicated. Saussure avoided mentioning whether the system is involved in phonetic changes or not in his *Course*; consequently, this leads to the question whether the distinction between synchrony and diachrony is possible or not in practical linguistic researches. The question is still unanswered. However, the fundamental question left for us is quite fascinating and attractive to the present-day linguists.

Acknowledgement

I would like to express my deep appreciation to Dr. Katsunori Fujioka for his time and efforts to translate this paper, originally written in Japanese, into English. Dr. Katsunori Fujioka is a professor at Ehime University and his major research interests include contrastive linguistics, cognitive linguistics and English education.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

H. Arisaka, *Phonology,* SANSEIDO TOKYO,1940.

A. Martinet,*Économie des changements phonétiques : Traité de phonologie diachronique,* A.FRANCKE S.A. BERNE,1955.

K. Maruyama, *Saussure Syojiten*, TAISYUKANSYOTEN TOKYO,1985.

F. Saussure, *Cours de linguistique Générale* (édition critique préparée par Tullio de Mauro, PAYOT PARIS 1979.)

STUDIA UBB PHILOLOGIA, LVIII, 1, 2013, p. 21 - 33
(RECOMMENDED CITATION)

STRUCTURAL REVERSAL BETWEEN WRITTEN AND SPOKEN LANGUAGES IN JAPANESE

TOSHIYUKI SADANOBU[1]

ABSTRACT. ***Structural reversal between written and spoken languages in Japanese***. Written and spoken languages have traditionally been thought as distinguished from each other simply by the medium used. But at the same time it has been also pointed out that this distinction sometimes overlaps with stylistic distinction (e.g. Lyons 1981). More recently the innovative idea that they should be distinguished synthetically using various viewpoints has become widespread (e.g. Chafe 1982; Tannen 1980, 1982). According to this idea, written and spoken languages are best delineated using various interrelated parameters including structure, strategy, and content besides medium as a matter of degree on a continuum. Prototypical written language conveys general knowledge to distant receivers by a complex and dense text structure, whereas prototypical spoken language, consisting of a simple and fragmented structure of sound, fits well with conveying personal experiences in on-line multi-modal interaction. Quite contrary to this common idea (structural aspect, *inter alia*), Modern Japanese spoken language often disprefers simpler structures and prefers more complex structures. We shall observe this previously unrevealed phenomenon (henceforth 'structural reversal') by using constructed and real examples in Section 2, and then point out its formal/semantic/pragmatic characteristics in Section 3. Based on this characterization, we shall discuss the theoretical impact that structural reversal has on research regarding "written and spoken languages," and "grammar and communication" in Section 4.

Keywords: structural reversal, spoken/written languages, Japanese

REZUMAT. ***Inversiunea structurală dintre limbajul scris și cel oral în limba japoneză.*** Limbajul scris și cel oral au fost în mod tradițional considerate ca fiind divergente datorită contextului în care sunt folosite. Totodată însă s-a atras atenția asupra faptului că această distincție coincide uneori cu diferențierea stilistică (Lyons 1981). Abia mai târziu s–a răspândit ideea inovatoare potrivit căreia cele două ar trebui distinse în mod sintetic, abordând diverse puncte de vedere (Chafe 1982; Tannen 1980, 1982). Conform acestei idei, limbajul scris, respectiv cel oral, este cel mai bine circumscris

[1] Professor, Faculty of Intercultural Studies, Kobe University, Japan. Main topic of research: grammar in communication. E-mail address: sadanobu@kobe-u.ac.jp. Main publications: *Yoku Wakaru Gengogaku* (Easy Linguistics, Alc, 1999); *Ninchi Gengoron* (A Cognitive Study in Linguistics, Taishukan, 2000); *Sasayaku Koibito, Rikimu Reporter* (Culture of Oral Speech, Iwanami, 2005); *Nihongo Fushigi Zukan* (An Illustrated Book of Grammar of Japanese Language, Taishukan, 2006); *Bonnou-no Bunpou* (How Our Everyday Interactions Form Grammar, Chikuma 2008); *Nihongoshakai Nozoki Kyarakuri* (An Introduction to Japanese "Characters"). E-mail: sadanobu@kobe-u.ac.jp

prin diverşi parametri precum structură, strategie şi conţinut, aflaţi în corelaţie în plus faţă de context. Limbajul scris prototipic transmite cunoştinţe generale receptorilor care nu sunt proximi printr-o structură complicată şi densă a textului, în timp ce limbajul oral prototipic constă într-o structură sonoră mai simplă şi fragmentară, el fiind astfel adecvat pentru a transmite experienţe personale faţă în faţă şi în timp real. Contrar acestei idei generale (aspect structural, *inter alia*), japoneza modernă vorbită preferă structuri mai complexe în defavoarea celor mai simple. În secţiunea a doua vom observa acest fenomen nedezvăluit până acum (de unde şi „inversare structurală") utilizând exemple construite artificial, dar şi exemple reale, iar în cea de-a treia secţiune vom semnala caracteristicile sale formale/ semantice/ pragmatice. Pe baza acestei caracterizări, în secţiunea a patra, vom discuta impactul teoretic pe care fenomenul inversiunii structurale îl are în domeniul cercetării „limbajului scris şi al celui oral", respectiv în „gramatică şi comunicare".

Cuvinte-cheie: inversiune structurală, limbaj vorbit/oral, limba japoneză

1. Introduction

Written and spoken languages have traditionally been thought as distinguished from each other simply by the medium used (i.e. written language using letters vs. spoken language using sounds), although at the same time it has been also pointed out that this distinction sometimes overlaps with stylistic distinction (e.g. Lyons 1981). More recently the innovative idea that they should be distinguished synthetically using various viewpoints has become widespread (e.g. Chafe 1982; Tannen 1980, 1982). This idea is supported by observations including the fact that some ritual speaking styles have features of written language, whereas written text such as internet chat and mobile mail deserve to be termed spoken language. According to this idea, written and spoken languages are best delineated using various parameters including structure, strategy, and content besides medium as a matter of degree on a continuum. Prototypical written language conveys knowledge to distant receivers by a complex and dense text structure, whereas prototypical spoken language, consisting of a simple and fragmented structure of sound, fits well with on-line "meta-communication" (Bateson 1955) among participants co-presented in the same place.

Quite contrary to this common idea (structural aspect, *inter alia*), Modern Japanese spoken language often disprefers simpler structures and prefers more complex structures. We shall observe this previously unrevealed phenomenon (henceforth 'structural reversal') by using constructed and real examples in Section 2, and then point out its formal/semantic/pragmatic characteristics in Section 3. Based on this characterization, we shall discuss the theoretical impact that structural reversal has on research of regarding "written and spoken languages," and "grammar and communication" in Section 4.

2. Structural reversal in Modern Japanese

As Clancy (1982) argues, there are many cases where Modern Japanese conforms to the common view that written language prefers complex structures and spoken language simple fragmented ones. An example of this is shown in (1) below.

(1) a. *Gogo-ni* *furi-dashi-ta* *ame-wa, sonoato* *yuki-ni* *na-tta.*
afternoon-LOC fall-begin-PAST rain-TOP afterwards snow-to become-PAST

"The rain, beginning to fall in the afternoon, changed ito snow afterwards."

b. *Gogo-ni* *ame-ga* *furi-dashi-ta.* *Ame-wa* *sonoato*
afternoon-LOC rain-NOM fall-begin-PAST rain-TOP afterwards

yuki-ni na-tta.
snow-to become-PAST

"The rain began to fall in the afternoon. It changed to snow afterwards."

Examples (1a,b) both mean that the rain began in the afternoon and afterward changed to snow, but they differ in structure. Example (1a) expresses these events using a single sentence consisting of a main clause and a subordinate clause, whereas example (1b) expresses this by a juxtaposition of two sentences. This means that the structure of (1a) is more complex and less fragmental than that of (1b). Spoken language, especially that in everyday conversation of a casual style, dislikes (1a), but not (1b) in particular. Compared with (1a), (1b) is more common in spoken language, which means that written language prefers complex structures and spoken language simple fragmental structures.

Nevertheless, this idea is not always true, and spoken language may dislike simple fragmental structures as well. See example (2) below.

(2) a. *Juumannin-no* *hitode-demo* *asa-kara*
a hundred thousand people-GEN crowd-even morning-ABL

kaidashi *- desu -ka.*
go shopping- – COP –Q

"Oh, you are going shopping to the market in spite that it is crowded with a hundred thousand people?!"

b. *Juumannin-no.* *hitode..* *Sore-demo* *asa-kara*
a hundred thousand people-GEN crowd that-even morning-ABL

kaidashi *-desu -ka.*
go shopping -COP –Q

"Crowded with a hundred thousand people. Oh, you are still going shopping to the market?!"

Examples (2a, b) both ask with exclamatory feeling if the listener is going shopping to the market in spite that it is crowded with a hundred thousand people. Example (2a) asks this with a compressed sentence, whereas example (2b) asks this using two juxtaposed sentences, meaning that the structure of (2a) is more complex and less fragmental than that of (2b). The common view introduced above therefore expects that written language prefers (2a), and spoken language (2b). But this expectation is actually incorrect. Spoken language dislikes simple (2b) and prefers complex (2a). Let us imagine a morning situation, for instance, where two people (A and A' friend staying at A's house) are watching TV news program reporting how much the Nishiki market at Kyoto are crowded with a hundred thousand people from morning these days at the end of year, and A begins preparing for going out for shopping. In this situation A's friend can utter (2a) toward A naturally but not (2b). Only in more written-like situations (2b) can be observed. For example, (2b) is natural as an instance of advertising copy as it might appear in a promotional poster for an delivery-service company announcing that customers can enjoy fresh food anytime at their houses. Against the background of crowded market, (2b) could be a natural copywriting phrase.

The example (2b) has the anaphora *sore* (i.e. that) at the head of the second sentence, which may be thought of as referring to the crowdedness of the market described immediately before it. This may give us the impression that (2b) is close to a so-called left-dislocated sentences such as the Italian sentence in (3).

(3) *A Roberto* *l'ho* *fatto* *aspetta'* *un'ora*
to Roberto$_i$ him$_i$ (I) made wait an hour
"Roberto$_i$, I made him$_i$ wait for an hour."

[Duranti and Ochs 1979: 377.]

But this impression is incorrect. Left-dislocated sentences do not have an intonation break between the left-dislocated part *a Roberto* and the other part *l'ho fatto aspetta' un'ora*, and above all, they are "conversational constructions" (Duranti and Ochs 1979: 379). By contrast, (2b) usually has an intonation break between *juumannin-no hitode* (i.e. Crowd of a hundred thousand people) and the remainder. It is disliked in conversation and appears only in more written-like situations.

In order to clarify the difference between the phenomenon we are dealing with and left-dislocation, we shall provide examples (4), where anaphora does not appear.

(4) a. *Shuushoku* *dooyatte* *kimerundesu-ka?*
employment how decide-Q
"How do you come to a decision about employment?"

b. *Shuushoku.* *Dooyatte* *kimerundesu-ka?*
employment how decide-Q
"Employment. How do you come to a decision about it?"

Both of the above utterances are asking about how one makes a decision regarding employment, but (4a) is a single sentence while (4b) is shown as two sentences separated by an intonation break. In terms of structure, (4a) is more complex and (4b) is more fragmental and simple. Therefore, it may be anticipated that (4a) would be preferred as written language and (4b) as spoken language. However this assessment does not agree with the reality. The spoken language disprefers simpler structures (4b) and prefers complex ones (4a). For example, if the situation is envisioned as a school club member asking this question of an upper classman, (4a) would be the natural question and (4b) unnatural. This unnaturalness is caused because that (4b) seems like written language, such as one might see in the title of a featured article in an issue of a magazine geared towards the young.

Some further examples of the above follow. In the following, (5b) has been taken from the advertisement of a Japanese-style hotel, and contains the anaphora *sore* (i.e. that) also found in (2).

(5) a. *Watashitachi-ga, chiisana okosama-ya dantai-no okyakusama-o*
we-NOM little children-and group-GEN guests-ACC

okotowarishite-mademo mamori-tai-mono-towa isogashiku nichijou-o sugosu
refuse-even protect-want-thing-TOP busily each day-ACC spend

otonatachi-ga kokoroshizukani kyuusokusuru-tame-no basho-to jikan.
adults-NOM quietly relax-sake-GEN place-and time

"What we wish to protect, even to the extent of refusing guests with small children or in large groups, is a place and time for the quiet relaxation of adults who spend each day busily."

b. Watashitachiga, chiisana okosama-ya dantai-no okyakusama-o
we-NOM little children-and group-GEN guests-ACC

okotowarishite-mademo mamori-tai-mono. Sore-wa isogashiku nichijou-o
refuse-even protect-want-thing that-TOP busily each day-ACC

sugosu otona-tachi-ga kokoroshizukani kyuusokusur-tame-no basho-to jikan.
spend adults-NOM quietly relax-sake-GEN place-and time

"A thing we wish to protect, even to the extent of refusing guests with small children or in large groups. That [thing] is a place and time for the quiet relaxation of adults who spend each day busily."

[from *Hitotoki*, Aug. 2005 issue, pp., 2-3, advertisement for *Shogetsu*, an inn at Gero Spa]

The two sentences of (5b) are joined into a long complex single sentence in (5a), but nonetheless (5b) is more of a written expression than (5a). The following two examples (6) and (7) do not contain the anaphora *sore* (i.e. that).

(6) a. *Heikan-go-no shizukesa-o torimodoshi-ta*
close-after-GEN silence-ACC recover-PAST

kanazawa nijuuisseeki bijutsukan-no gogorokuji-ni
the 21th Century Museum of Contemporary Art, Kanazawa-GEN 6 p.m.-LOC

daionryoo-no rokku-totomoni ichinichi-no katudoo-o shidoosaseru hito-ga iru.
loudness-GEN rock music-with a day-GEN activity-ACC begin man-NOM be

Airashisa-nonakani shinikarusa-o dookyosaseta, tsurime-no onnnanoko-ya
endearing-in cynicism-ACC reside together up angled eye-GEN girl-and

inu-nado-no e-de onajimi-no nara yoshitomo-san-da.
dog-etc.-GEN painting-by famous-GEN Yoshitomo Nara-Mr.-copula

"At the 21st Century Museum of Contemporary Art, Kanazawa, at 6 PM, an art museum that has recovered its silence after closing for the day, a man begins his day's activities amidst loud rock music. It is Yoshitomo Nara, famed for his paintings of girls with up-angled eyes and dogs etc., which bring cynicism to reside together with the endearing."

b. *Kanazawa nijuuisseeki bijutsukan-no gogorokuji.*
the 21th Century Museum of Contemporary Art, Kanazawa-GEN 6 p.m.

Heekan-go-no shizukesa-o torimodoshi-ta bijutsukan-de, daionryoo-no
close-after-GEN silence-ACC recover-PAST museum-LOC loudness-GEN

rokku-totomoni ichinichi-no katudoo-o shidoosaseru hito-ga iru.
rock music-with a day-GEN activity-ACC begin man-NOM be

Airashisa-nonakani shinikarusa-o dookyosaseta, tsurime-no onnnanoko-ya
endearing-in cynicism-ACC reside together up angled eye-GEN girl-and

inu-nado-no e-de onajimi-no nara yoshitomo-san-da.
dog-etc.-GEN painting-by famous-GEN Yoshitomo Nara-Mr.-copula

"The 21st Century Museum of Contemporary Art, Kanazawa, 6 PM. At the art museum that has recovered its silence after closing for the day, a man begins his day's activities amidst loud rock music. It is Yoshitomo Nara, famed for his paintings of girls with up-angled eyes and dogs etc., which bring cynicism to reside together with the endearing."

[from "Tsukuttemasu! Nara Tomomi's 'Moonlight Serenade' Exhibit," *Yomuiuri Weekly*, 4 March 2007, vol. 66, no. 10, consecutive number 3065, p. 44.]

(7) a. *Kyuushinryoku-o tamotsu ichiban-no tedate-wa, shichigatsu-no*
centripetal force-ACC maintain best-GEN way-TOP July-GEN

tenkawakeme-no san'insen-made tsuzuku
crucial-GEN the Upper House elections-until continue

chihoosenkyo-ya san'in hosen (hyoo ni sanshoo)-ni
local election-and by elections for the Upper House (see chart 2)-LOC

kachi-tsuzukeru-koto-da-ga, ippo ayama-reba chimeishou-ni naru.
win-continue-thing-copula-but a single misstep-if fatal injury-become

Tatoeba nijuuichinichi-no miyazakiken chijisen-dewa
for example the 21st-GEN the Miyagi Prefectural governor's election-LOC

yotou-no suisen kooho-ga iru-noni,
the ruling power-GEN recommendation candidates-NOM exist-but

ichibuno jimintoo kokkaigiinra-ga betsuno kooho-o yooritsushi,
some of the LDP Diet members-NOM another candidate-ACC back

bunretsu senkyo-ni.
leading to a split party ticket.

"The most effective means for maintaining centripetal force is to continue to win local elections and by-elections for the Upper House (see chart 2) leading up the crucial July Upper House elections, but a single misstep will be disastrous. For example, in the Miyazaki Prefectural governor's election on the 21st there is a candidate recommended by the ruling power, yet some of the LDP Diet members are backing another candidate, [leading to] a split party ticket.

b. *Kyuushinryoku-o tamotsu ichiban-no tedate-wa, shichigatsu-no*
centripetal force-ACC maintain best-GEN way-TOP July-GEN

tenkawakeme-no san'insen-made tsuzuku
crucial-GEN the Upper House elections-until continue

chihoosenkyo-ya san'in hosen (hyoo ni sanshoo)-ni
local election-and by elections for the Upper House (see chart 2)-LOC

kachi-tsuzukeru-koto-da-ga, ippo ayama-reba chimeishou-ni naru.
win-continue-thing-copula-but a single misstep-if fatal injury-become

Tatoeba nijuuichinichi-no miyazakiken chijisen.
for example the 21st-GEN the Miyazaki Prefecturalgovernor's election

Yotoo-no suisen kooho-ga iru-noni,
the ruling power-GEN recommendation candidates-NOM exist-but

ichibuno jimintoo kokkaigiinra-ga *betsuno kooho-o* *youritsushi,*
some of the LDP Diet members-NOM another candidate-ACC back

bunretsu senkyo-ni.
leading to a split party ticket.

"The most effective means for maintaining centripetal force is to continue to win local elections and by-elections for the Upper House (see chart 2) leading up the crucial July Upper House elections, but a single misstep will be disastrous. For example, the Miyazaki Prefectural governor's election on the 21st. There is a candidate recommended by the ruling party, yet some of the LDP Diet members are backing another candidate, [leading to] a split party ticket."

["The Five Minefields PM Abe Keeps," *Weekly Asahi*, 2 Feb. 2007, Vol. 112 No. 4, consecutive number 4796, p.28]

Rather than the long, complicated single sentences of (6a) and (7a), the two sentences of (6b) (7b) are more written language.

Does the traditional belief that written language is complicated in structure and spoken language is fragmental and simple in structure not apply to Modern Japanese? In the following fundamental observations we apply the term "structural reversal" to the phenomenon of spoken language dispreferring simple and fragmental structures in opposition to the traditional belief.

3. Observations

Unlike the standard example of (1), the examples of structural reversal (2), (4)-(7) possess three unique characteristics.

The first characteristic is a structural characteristic. In all the (b) examples of (2), (4)–(7), among the short fragmental sentences, those in a prior position end with a noun phrase. For example, the long sentence of (7a) beginning with *tatoeba* ("For example...") is divided into two sentences in (7b) beginning with *tatoeba* ("For example...") and *yotoo-no* ("Ruling party..."). Of these two, the prior sentence, as repeated below in (8a), has a noun phrase in the final position, "For example, the Miyagi Prefectural governor's election on the 21st." (In the following, such fragmental sentences ending with a noun phrase will be referred to for the sake of brevity as "fragment sentences.")

(8) a. *Tatoeba* *nijuuichinichi-no* *miyazakiken chijisen.*
for example the 21st-GEN the Miyazaki Prefectural governor's election
"For example, the Miyazaki Prefectural governor's election on the 21st."

b. *Tatoeba* *nijuuichinichi-no* *miyazakiken chijisen-dearu.*
for example the 21st-GEN the Miyazaki Prefectural governor's election-COP

"An example is the Miyazaki Prefectural governor's election on the 21st."

This characteristic is significant for the formation of the structural reversal. If the noun phrase is followed by other phrases, structural reversal will no longer be present. For instance, if to the end of (7a), "For example, the Miyazaki Prefectural governor's election on the 21st." the written language copula *dearu* is appended as in (8b)—regardless of the fact that this *dearu* is a written expression—the unnaturalness of the sentence as spoken language is relatively lessened, and is more readily usable in spoken language than (8a).

The second characteristic is a semantic characteristic. Rather than saying that the fragment sentences in (b) of (2), (4)–(7) by themselves transmit a completed message, it is more accurate to say they set the circumstances for the following material or introduce the main topic. The fragment sentence in (6b), "The 21st Century Museum of Contemporary Art, Kanazawa, 6 PM." sets the circumstances for the following mention of the artist's studio. The fragment sentence of (4b) "Employment." introduces the main topic that is the following question, "How do you come to a decision on it?" In the case of the fragment sentence of (7b) "For example, the Miyazaki Prefectural governor's election on the 21st." it is not possible to differentiate setting the circumstances from introducing the main topic.

Like the first characteristic, this second point is also necessary for structural reversal. Let us consider the case of a father explaining to his child about whales in front of the whale tank at an aquarium.

(9) a. *Kujira-wa honyuurui-de, bonyuu-de kosodateosuru-ndayo.*
whale-TOP mammal-copula mother's milk-by raise offspring-I tell you
"Whales are mammals, and the mother whale raises her offspring by her milk."

b. Kujira-wa honyuurui. Bonyuu-de kosodateosuru-ndayo.
whale-TOP mammal mother's milk-by raise offspring-I tell you
"Whales [are] mammals. The mother whale raises her offspring by her milk."

Both (9a, b) state the fact that whales are mammals as background information for the statement that among whales the mother raises her offspring by her milk. However, (9a) expresses this within a single sentence, while (9b) employs a fragment sentence. As an example of a realistic spoken expression, (9a) is more natural than (9b). The example of (9b) containing a fragment sentence seems like an example of television narration: it is fully a natural expression if used outside of the spoken language, yet as a realistic spoken expression it lacks naturalness. This is precisely structural reversal, which disprefers fragmentariness in spoken expressions. However, in some cases even if a fragment sentence identical with (9b) "Whales [are] mammals." is used, this phenomenon will not necessarily be observed. This will be illustrated with (9c).

(9) c. *Kujira-wa honyuurui. Gyorui zukan-ni-wa notte-nai-yo.*
whale-TOP mammal fish picture book-in-TOP appear-NEG-I tell you
"Whales [are] mammals. They don't appear in picture books on fish."

Unlike (9b), (9c) is fully natural as a conversational expression when said to a child looking for a section on whales in a picture book on fish. In (9c) the statement that whales are mammals is not a background explanation given about whales (i.e. that they do not appear in picture books on fish), but is rather pointing out an inaccuracy in the child's information, who believes that whales are fish. In actuality, even if not followed by "They don't appear in picture books on fish." in this case it is a natural expression. This is because the fragment sentence "Whales [are] mammals." neither sets the circumstances for the following statements nor introduces a main topic: it is by itself a complete message. Thus, if fragment sentences neither set the circumstances for the following statements nor introduce a man topic, the phenomenon in question does not arise.

The third characteristic is a pragmatic characteristic. The (b) examples of (2), (4)–(7) are all natural as written expression, as already noted. This naturalness is particularly marked in non-dialogic written expressions. For example, as already mentioned (2b), (4b), and (5b) are natural in a mass-communicative situation as written copy in an advertisement, in which one person is addressing an unknown number of persons. In the same manner, (6b) and (7b) are natural as journalistic or commentarial remarks in which one person addresses an unknown number of persons, and also is part of mass-communication.

Like the first two characteristics, the third characteristic is also indispensable for the existence of the phenomenon in question. In order to make this point explicit, let us examine (10) below, which may be interpreted as either other-oriented (invitational) or an intentional "I shall" interpretable as a monologue.

(10) a. *Yatto tor-e-ta kyuuka-dakedo, doko ikoo?*
at last take-be able to-PAST-CONJ where go
"This vacation [I, we] have at last been able to take, so where shall [I, we] go?"

b. *Yatto tor-e-ta kyuuka. Doko ikoo?*
at last take-be able to-PAST where go
"A vacation [I, we] have at last been able to take. Where shall [I, we] go?"

Unlike (10a), (10b) is dispreferred as spoken language and is natural only as written language, and is an example of structural reversal. Nevertheless, (10b) is not always natural as written language. Appearing in a strongly dialogic medium such as a letter (10b) would predictably be unnatural. It is only natural in a monologic environment such as a diary. In other words, (10b) is dispreferred as spoken language not for the simple reason that it is an expression of written language, but because it does not take the form of a dialogue with another.

Based on the above structural, semantic, and pragmatic observations, we can propose the following (11) principle (known hereinafter as Fragment Sentence Restriction).

(11) Fragment Sentence Restriction:

In dialogue, fragment sentences that set the circumstances or introduce the main topic are not employed.

By affirming Fragment Sentence Restriction (11), we can explain more than just the unnaturalness of the (b) examples of (2), (4)-(7) as spoken language. Let us examine (12).

(12) a. *Keganin-o* *hakon-de* *genba-ni* *modo-ttara,*
the injured-ACC transport-and scene-to return-COND

soko-wa *moo* *kuroyamanohitodakari-nano.*
there-TOP already crowded with people-I tell you

"Returning to the scene after transporting the injured, already the place was really crowded with people."

b. *Keganin-o* *hakon-de* *genba-ni* *modo-ttara,*
the injured-ACC transport-and scene-to return-COND

soko-wa *moo* *kuroyamanohitodakari.*
there-TOP already crowded with people

"Returning to the scene after transporting the injured, already the place [was] crowded with people."

Both (12a, b) explain the scene in a single sentence, but (12b), unlike (12a), ends with a noun phrase *kuroyama no hitodakari* (i.e. a situation of being crowded with people); this should be considered a fragment sentence as well. In terms of Fragment Sentence Restriction (11), (12b) would seem more likely than (12a) to be considered unnatural as a daily conversational expression. And actually (12b) can only be thought of as a theatrical expression with a sort of eloquence. (Naturally, when the speaker has a strong feeling this kind of theatrical expression can be motivational in everyday conversation. For example, as in *sorede keesu-o ka-ttara, nanto hassen-en !* "I ordered the case, then it cost eight thousand yen!!")

4. Grammar of spoken language and that of written language

In this paper we have observed structural reversal in Modern Japanese, a phenomenon that does not obey the traditional view of the structural difference between spoken and written languages wherein spoken language has a simpler and more fragmented structure than written language does. We then pointed out its formal, semantic, and pragmatic characteristics. Based on that, we shall discuss the theoretical impacts of this phenomenon on research regarding "written and spoken languages" and "grammar and communication".

As a typically agglutinative head-final language, Modern Japanese usually has various interpersonal elements at the end of sentences. Fragment sentences, which do

not have such elements and end with a noun phrase, are unique in this language. The formal characteristics that structural reversal occurs only in fragment sentences indicates that structural reversal is concerned by nature with the necessity of interpersonal elements.

As was noted above as the second characteristics, structural reversal occurs not in fragment sentences which relate events but in fragment sentences that occur simply as a preparation (i.e. situation-setting or topic-introducing) for relating events subsequently. At first sight, it may seem a matter of course that the context of preparation unnecessitates interpersonal elements and makes fragment sentences natural. Structural reversal tells us that this reasoning is actually correct only for written language and does not hold true for spoken language. Spoken language, especially dialogic spoken language as was pointed out as the third characteristics, requires interpersonal elements in the context of preparation all the more, because that context lacks a complete message directed from the speaker to the listeners, and makes fragment sentences unnatural. This is what we have seen above as Fragment Sentence Restriction. Structural reversal reflects the difference in grammar between spoken language and written language in the manner that Fragment Sentence Restriction holds in dialogic spoken language and does not hold in written language. In spoken language, a sentence must satisfy at least one of the following conditions, as a spoken unit: (i) it must have interpersonal elements, and (ii) it must have some complete message, neither of which condition is satisfied by fragment sentence in the preparatory context. Spoken language prefers complex structures not because they are complex, and written language prefers simple structures not because they are simple. Therefore we can conclude that structural reversal does not overthrow the general validity of the traditional view that spoken language prefers simpler structures and written language more complex ones.

Structural reversal, however, indicates at the same time that the grammatical discrepancy between spoken and written languages is much more common than it has been thought to be. If we adopt the Fragment Sentence Restriction that regulates fragment sentences within preparatory contexts like situation-settings and topic-introducing in dialogic spoken language, we must admit the strong interconnectedness between grammar and communication that enables the combination of formal, semantic, and pragmatic characteristics in this restriction.

* This paper is a revised version of our oral presentation (Sadanobu and Sawada (2005)) with permission of Hiroko Sawada. The revision was partially supported by the Ministry of Education, Science, Sport, and Culture, Grant-in-Aid for Scientific Research (A), 23242023.

REFERENCES

Bateson, Gregory. 1955. “The message ‘This is play’.” In Bertram Schaffner (ed.), *GroupProcesses: Transactions of the Second Conference*, pp. 145-242, New York: Josiah Macy Jr. Foundation.

Chafe, Wallace L. 1982. “Integration and involvement in speaking, writing, and oral literature.” In Deborah Tannen (ed.), pp. 35-53.

Clancy, Patricia M. 1982. “Written and spoken style in Japanese narratives.” In Deborah Tannen (ed.), pp. 55-76.

Duranti, Alessandro, and Elinor Ochs. 1979. “Left dislocation in Italian conversation.” In Talmy Givón (ed.), *Syntax and Semantics*, Vol. 12, pp. 377-416, New York: Academic Press.

Lyons, John. 1981 *Language and Linguistics: An Introduction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Sadanobu, Toshiyuki and Hiroko Sawada. 2005 “Expressiveness-deficiencydisease of speech,” Kyoto University Linguistics Workshop, 2005 Aug. 19 Kyoto University.

Tannen, Deborah. 1980 “Spoken/written language and the oral/literate continuum.” *Proceedings of the Sixth Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society*, pp. 208-218.

Tannen, Deborah. 1982 (ed.) *Spoken and Written Language: Exploring Orality and Literacy.* Norwood, NJ.: ABLEX.

STUDIA UBB PHILOLOGIA, LVIII, 1, 2013, p. 35 - 44
(RECOMMENDED CITATION)

EXPLORE THE TASK-BASED INTERNATIONAL CHINESE TEACHING MOLD IN THE CONTEXT OF CROSS-CULTURE COMMUNICATION — A CASE STUDY OF THE "LANGUAGE-GAME" THEORY IN THE CONFUCIUS INSTITUTE

FENG SHAOZHONG[1], CHEN HAIFANG[2]

ABSTRACT. ***Explore the Task-based International Chinese Teaching Mold in the context of Cross-Culture Communication - A Case Study of the "Language-game" Theory in the Confucius Institute***. There are 400 Confucius Institutes and more than 500 Confucius Classrooms in108 countries now since the first Confucius Institute was set up in 2004. The registered number of students learning Chinese in the Confucius Institute is over 50 million. Chinese became the hot language around the world in recent years; meanwhile, the Confucius Institutes encountered some problems in teaching Chinese. This paper is going to analyze the causes of the students "dropping out the Chinese courses" and to explore the setting up the mold of the task-based international Chinese teaching to motivate students and stimulate their interest to learn Chinese in order to lower the dropout rate. The mold is constructed on the basis of Wittgenstein's theories, such as "Language-game", "Meaning as Use", "Family Resemblances" and "Form of Life". The case study sample is from the analysis of teaching mold applied in the beginner group in the Confucius Institute of Babes-Bolyai University in Romania. The analysis presents the advantages of the task-based Chinese teaching mold focused on the introduction of Chinese culture and civilization; in addition, it emphasizes the importance of the first task-based Chinese teaching mold

[1] **Feng Shaozhong** is the Associate professor (MA) of International school in Zhejiang University of Science Technology, Hangzhou, China. She has been the Chinese director of the Confucius Institute of Babes-Bolyai University of Cluj-Napoca in Romania since Sep 2009. Recent Published Articles and Books included: English and American Literature Teaching Based on the Blog: Perspective of Ecology, Journal of Southern Vocational Education, 2011(5) Vol. 1; Books: Chinese language – daily conversation, Presa Universitara Cluj, Romania and Zhejiang Publishing House, China, 2010; The Art of Chinese Calligraphy, Guidance regarding the writing of Chinese Characters, Presa Universitara Cluj, Romania and Zhejiang Publishing House, China 2010. E-mail: feng.elena@yahoo.com.

[2] **Chen Haifang** is the lecture (MA) of International school in Zhejiang University of Science Technology, Hangzhou, China. She was the Chinese teacher of the Confucius Institute of Babes-Bolyai University of Cluj-Napoca in Romania from Sep. 2010 to July 2012.

implemented in Chinese course and how to make it interesting and to improve the students' motivation to continue their learning Chinese in the future.

Keywords: Wittgenstein; Theory of Language-game; Task-based Teaching; International Chinese Education; Cross-Cultural Communication

REZUMAT. ***Explorând modelul internațional de predare a limbii chineze bazat pe obiective specifice în contextul dialogului inter-cultural. Studiu de caz al teoriei "Jocului de vorbire" în cadrul Institutului Confucius.*** În prezent există 400 de Institute Confucius și mai mult de 500 de clase Confucius în întreaga lume, fondarea primului Institut Confucius având loc în 2004. Numărul studenților care învață limba chineză în cadrul Institutului Confucius este de peste 50 de milioane. Chineza a devenit limba de știut în toată lumea în ultimii ani; între timp Institutele Confucius au întâlnit o serie de probleme în predarea limbii chineze. Acest articol va analiza cauzele pentru care studenții "abandonează cursurile de limba chineză" și va explora procesul de creare a modelului internațional bazat pe obiective specifice de predare a limbii chineze pentru a motiva studenții și pentru a le stimula interesul să învețe chineza cu scopul de a reduce gradul de abandon. Modelul este construit pe baza teoriilor lui Wittgenstein precum "Jocul de vorbire", "Sensul ca utilizare", "Asemănări de familie" și "Forma realității". Exemplul pentru studiul de caz provine din analiza modelului de predare aplicat grupei începătoare de la Institutul Confucius din cadrul Universității Babeș-Bolyai, România. Analiza prezintă avantajele modelului de predare a limbii chineze bazat pe obiective specifice, cu accentul pus pe prezentarea culturii și civilizației chineze; în plus, aceasta subliniază importanța primului model de predare bazat pe obiective specifice în cursul de limba chineză, modul în care să fie făcut interesant, precum și felul în care se poate îmbunătăți gradul de motivare a studenților pentru a continua studiul limbii chineze în viitor.

Cuvinte-cheie: Wittgenstein, teoria "Jocului de vorbire", învățarea bazată pe obiective specifice, educația chineză la nivel internațional, dialog inter-cultural

Introduction

There are 400 Confucius Institutes and more than 500 Confucius Classrooms in 108 countries now since the first Confucius Institute was set up in 2004. The registered number of students learning Chinese in the Confucius Institute (hereafter referred to as CI) is over 50 million. Chinese became the hot language around the world in recent years; meanwhile, the CI encountered some problems such as "dropping out the Chinese courses" during the semester due to the learning habits and objectives for the western students and the teaching methods. Since the establishment of CI in Babes-Bolyai University in Romania on September 2009,

there are more than 2000 participants. However CI is also facing the challenges of the students' "dropping out the Chinese courses" not only because of the students' different learning objectives, habits and the particularity of the short teaching hours in CI (such as the inadequacy of the weekly teaching hours) and also the effectiveness of the teaching, cause the instability of the students' number presented in class during the first five weeks. Therefore this paper will try to illustrate the Chinese teaching mold matched the CI teaching programme based on the experience of the CI in Babes-Bolyai University in the context of Cross-Culture Communication.

Ludwig Wittgenstein put forward the theory of "Language-game" in the *Philosophical Investigations* published in 1953. He said he would also call the whole procedure as the "Language-game"[3], consisting of Language and the actions into which it is woven. About how to master a language effectively, his view is that "One learns the game by watching how others play"[4]. In the book, he proposed many famous theories, such as "Meaning as Use", "Family Resemblances" and "Form of Life". Liuhui summarized Wittgenstein's ideas as language is a kind of "Language-game" in the form of life with "Family Resemblances" which can be understood only by using it. Then people can obtain the standard to judge the significance[5]. Therefore we can absolutely apply these theories into the Chinese teaching in CI, also integrating "Task-based" approach, to guide the students to learn by doing and to master by practicing the language.

Exploring the Chinese teaching mold of CI from "Meaning as Use" theory

For anti-essentialism, Wittgenstein didn't define any name in the *Philosophical Investigations*. You can't get any definition about "Language-game", "Form of Life" and so on. He emphasized many a time "Don't think, but look"[6]. However there is a quite clear definition about the meaning of a word. "The meaning of a word is its use in the language. And the meaning of a name is sometimes explained by pointing to its bearer".[7] This is the famous theory "Meaning as Use" we will discuss in this paper.

According to the theory, you can really master the meaning of a word only if you are observing the word carefully when it is used. So the best way to learn a language is to use it as much as possible, to learn by using rather than to input blindly. This idea is consistent with the "Task-based" approach (1980s) which stresses "Learning by doing". The following Chinese teaching molds are designed for beginner based on the theory above-mentioned:

---

[3] Ludwig Wittgenstein,*Philosophical Investigations*,translated by G.E.M. Anscombe, (Great Britain: Basil Blackwell Press, 1953), 5.

[4] Wittgenstein, *Philosophical Investigations*, 27.

[5] Liuhui, "On Later Wittgenstein's View of Language from the perspective of Ontological Philosophy of Language", *Foreign Language Research*, 2010, (6), 25.

[6] Wittgenstein, *Philosophical Investigations*, 31.

[7] Wittgenstein, *Philosophical Investigations*, 20-21.

Reciting Mold

Practicing the dialogue has always been the teaching subject during the process of elementary Chinese teaching. Cuiruan wrote "reciting is the way of storage and accumulation for language and culture"[8].

It has been proved that reciting can improve the effectiveness of language learning. It is difficult to implement it in CI. On the one hand, the diversity of students' learning motivation limits its implementation; on the other hand, the different learning habits between East and West students have already showed that reciting has always been not the mainstream in the Western education history. As a result of above facts, we need to design a specific teaching mold based on the particularity of CI teaching which not only can exert the advantage of reciting, but also be able to attract the students. Therefore, the following steps can be adopted:

Step I. During the process of teaching text, after the explanation of relevant language points, firstly the teacher should lead the students to read the text; secondly to divide the students into different groups and let them take turns to exchange the dialogue role. In this step, the teacher should pay attention to the key words explanation. At the same time such explanation have to be clear and accurate in a short time to make sure all of the students will be able to have a understandable practice later. After the students are familiar with the text, the second task can be issued on which everyone should ask five questions to your partner and also answer the questions made by your partner. Because a large number of memories practice and repeated mechanical drills will make the students fear and boring easily. Therefore the task of Q&A should be issued at the proper time. The students will be able to put themselves into the real context by putting forward questions according to the text content. The students can use the word from the text to ask meaningful questions which mean they are in the process to "think" which is helpful to improve their interpersonal skills such as "comment" and "question".

Step II Setting up the diversity group cooperation mold: Since the students will be boring and distraction when the other groups are being checked, the teacher should adopt the way of corporation between groups, such as letting group B to answer group A's questions. These approaches benefit a lot on motivating the students to learn and alleviating the boring caused by the lack of real context. At the same time it can reduce students' anxiety which would produce "shielding effect" in the learning process.

Step III Ask the students to use real-life material to adapt the dialogue by imitating the sentence pattern of the text. Now the teacher can give the reciting assignment, ask the students to recite at home. Since the "original fear" about reciting

[8] Cuiruan, "Study *Chinese Curriculum Standard*, Deepen the reform of Chinese teaching", *Curriculum, Teaching Material and Method*, 2002, (4), 6.

for Western students, before they get used to this mold, the teacher can allow them to have an "assistant" which means they can write down ten or twenty pinyin on paper. When they are reciting, they can consult this paper anytime which is helpful to relieve the reciting stress. When they are used to this mold, they can get rid of the "assistant".

In the context of inadequacy of weekly teaching hours in CI, to grasp the text contents slowly and steadily is much more meaningful than to finish the teaching work in hurry, and also more effective.

Imitating Mold

Different reading method will produce different results to the students' memory. If the same statement is spoken by the persons in different ages and from the other profession, there will be some difference on the intonation, tone, speed and so on. So the teacher can use different way to perform the same word, statement or dialogue, ask the students to observe carefully and then to tell the difference. After they do more repetition, the teacher should encourage them to imitate the manner of speaking. Jia Xiangliu mentioned, "The modern psycholinguistics and cognitive science hold the view that imitation is not the only mean to acquire a language but it plays an important role in second language acquisition"[9]. And it can also avoid the disadvantage of the following phenomenon, such as "repeating and boring" which thus enable the students to perceive the meaning of words, sentences by using the authentic language.

Journalist Mold

Question is the common teaching method in the class which is conductive to check students' learning situation timely. While the teacher is asking the first student question, the others should listen carefully and to be a good "journalist" and meanwhile, another student will be "interviewed" according to the conversation between the teacher and the first student. After that, the teacher can ask the other two students to do the similar dialogue just like the teacher and the first student did before. Compared to answer, how to make a question is much more important in the language communication. If answer is considered as a kind of passive communication, asking a question means you take the initiative. The principle of "Meaning as use" is also implemented in this mold.

Corporation Mold

First to distribute each student one card on which there is a radical and a corresponding single character, pinyin and so on. Then the teacher explains all of

[9] Jia Xiangliu, "The Cognitive Foundation of Imitation and its implication to Foreign Language Teaching", *Journal of Hengyang Normal University*, 2006, 27(4), 158.

the radicals to the students, but each student is only in charge of memorizing the information on his card which he needs to teach to the others. As a result, in the ending of this corporation, everyone should be able to master all of the radicals. In fact, the corporation mold is useful to alleviate the individual pressure in the social environment and is also good to cultivate the interpersonal relationship. Na Yingzhi and Zhang Jingjing wrote, "The interaction based on the study groups is an effectively strategy to overcome the dissociation. It sets study groups as basic units which enables the learners to participate in the teaching activities in the greatest range and depth. And such competitive activity between groups and the comparisons of each others' task results will promote the stimulation of the dynamics within each group"[10]. This approach can be also applied to teach pinyin.

Alleviating students' fear of difficulty in learning Chinese from "Family Resemblances" theory

One of the reasons why Wittgenstein's Later Philosophy developed in the direction of anti-essentialism is that he can't find the same nature between a variety of related objects. It seems impossible to succeed in finding the nature of "Game". He wrote "We see a complicated network of similarities overlapping and crass-crossing: sometimes overall similarities, sometimes similarities of detail"[11], which just as his conclusion, "I can think of no better expression to characterize these similarities than 'Family Resemblances' "[12].

Based on this theory, there are similarities among all of the languages and cultures in the world. So the first Chinese course in CI should be the best time to practice this idea "Seeking common ground while reserving differences", thus reducing the students' fear of difficulty in learning Chinese gradually. Therefore, teachers in CI should roughly comprehend the language, the culture of the appointed country in advance. Then in the first course the teacher can do some cultural comparison and introduce some Chinese culture they are interested which is proved to be a good way to prevent the students' "drop out" as early as possible.

Integrating culture into the language teaching steadily from "Form of Life" theory

Wittgenstein wrote "To imagine a language means to imagine a form of life…the speaking of language is part of an activity or of a form of life"[13]. The form of life decides the performance of a language, and language reflects every unique form of life. Edward Sapir wrote "language does not exist apart from culture, that is, from the

[10] Na yingzhi,Zhang jingjing,"Approach and Strategy Study on Interest Teaching of Chinese for foreigners", *Journal of Yichun College*, 2011, 33(9), 189.

[11] Wittgenstein, *Philosophical Investigations*, 32.

[12] Wittgenstein, *Philosophical Investigations*, 32.

[13] Wittgenstein, *Philosophical Investigations*, 8, 11.

socially inherited assemblage of practices and beliefs that determines the texture of our lives"[14]. The "culture" mentioned here should be consistent with the theory "Form of Life" of a language in order to master it, It's necessary to comprehend the corresponding form of life. Language teaching will not exist apart from the culture teaching. Therefore the relationship between them is complementary.

"To know why" Mold and Experience Mold

Chinese is different from the other language such as Indo-European language. It pays more attention to parataxis and word order. In fact this feature of Chinese language reflects the logic of Chinese cogitation, being different with the other nations which are exactly caused by different cultural background. To imagine Chinese means to imagine Chinese culture. During the process of teaching students Chinese word order which is totally different with their mother tongue, if the teacher only emphasize the order in the syntax level, the students will be interfered a lot by their native language and can't use the Chinese language order fluently and accurately. That's why we should teach by steps: firstly to arrange enough time for students to observe and compare the difference between the two languages; secondly to encourage students to think why; thirdly to return to do the understandable language drill.

Culture has an extent and a broad sense which is consistent with "Form of Life" put forward by Wittgenstein. Exploration from word order to Chinese cogitation is the one of the aspect about culture; analyzing the different cogitation is the first step to do the cross-culture communication; Research on the cause of Chinese cogitation way from a historical point of view is a way to learn history. Thus the language teaching can't exist too long apart from the culture teaching. Only the closely integration of language teaching and culture teaching can actually attract more Chinese learner and to master the language.

About how to carry out culture courses, such as China's traditional arts "paper-cut", it is a good way to practice first then to interpret. First of all, teach students to cut a simple pattern, like "tiger", give the students a general impression. Secondly, show some paper-cut works to the students such as Double Happiness and a variety of small animals. Thirdly, ask them to try at home by themselves. Since all of the paper-cut templates distributed to the students are a little complicated, especially on how to fold the paper, the students have to try several times before they get it which will stimulate their curiosity about the art of paper-cut, whether successful or not. Then, reveal the "mystery" to the students and to take this opportunity to introduce the history of paper-cut and also to do practice later.

This approach can also be applied in the calligraphy course. The effect of

[14] Edward Sapir,*Language-an introduction to the study of speech*, (New York:Harcourt, Brace, 1921)100.

explaining straightly to the point will vary due to the students' different learning goals; however experience mold can inspire the students' interest. Before the calligraphy course, to give each student a Chinese name which should be wrote down on the Rice paper with writing brush. Most people are curious about their name written in Chinese on Rice paper, thus it takes a successful step to lead the students to experience Chinese calligraphy "unconsciously".

Blank Principle and Homework Principle

Compared to a certain amount of information output in class, the "blank" time is much more critical for the students to grasp the language timely. After the explanation of grammar, sentence patterns, the teacher should leave the students five or ten minutes to "digest" and review the newly learned. And then, the teacher checks randomly in the class by questioning or some exercises designed earlier, which can check the students' self-learning effect. In this procedure, it's better to use "picture" which means the teacher can start a "picture talk" activity during the check part after the teacher explain the grammar etc. with pictures together.

This principle is especially important to the Chinese teaching in CI. Due to the course once a week which inevitably makes the students to master most of the information in the class, some students in CI don't spend their spare time in reviewing Chinese after CI class. As a result of this, this "blank" time is designed to stimulate the suitable learning pressure for students in class which is conductive to produce the sense of competition to help them concentrate and improve the quality of learning.

According to the Ebbinghaus Forgetting Curve, it starts to forget immediately after learning and will be very quickly in the initial time. It seems reviewing is more necessary than commencing a new lesson for the particularity of Chinese teaching in CI. Homework is also another effective method to review. In order to overcome the students' slackness about homework, we try to apply the collaborative homework in CI. For example, it's easier for students to prepare the reciting together with his partner while it's better for several students to divide the work autonomously to retell a paragraph. They can help each other which can also avoid the individual stress to relieve the students' tension.

Maybe there will be a doubt about this principle because it is believed that it's not applicable to use traditional education method to teach foreigner since the different learning goals and habits. However from another point of view, the effect of homework such as dictation in CI is not only to consolidate the learning outcomes, but also is to strengthen the cohesion. One of the reasons for "dropping out the Chinese courses" is lack of sense of community. Dictation can strengthen ties between the students and the group; and collaboration provides a platform for the students to get familiar with each other which are helpful for the teacher more smoothly to carry out teaching activity in class. After one semester's practice, the students will

be used to this model until become "inertial" on it. The thing to note is the amount and difficulty of homework should be moderate since the function of it is to strengthen the cohesion.

Conclusion

This paper constructed on the basis of Wittgenstein's "Language-game" theory, such as "Meaning as Use", "Family Resemblances" and "Form of life", designed several Chinese teaching methods for CI in the context of Cross-Culture Communication. This paper strive to stand in the position of Overseas Chinese learners, explore the specific teaching mold for the first semester according to the foreigners' psychology of learning and learning habits. This mold can stimulate students' enthusiasm for learning Chinese, and improve their self-learning abilities, thereby reduce the dropout rate of students and enhance the teaching quality in CI. Since a good beginning is half the battle and all beginnings are hard, we should attach great importance to the first semester's teaching.

REFERENCES

1. Ludwig Wittgenstein, Philosophical Investigations,translated by G.E.M. Anscombe, (Great Britain: Basil Blackwell Press, 1953)
2. Ludwig Wittgenstein, Philosophical Investigations,translated by Chen Jiaying, (Shanghai: Shang Century Publishing Group, 2005)
3. Ma guoyan, "On teaching Chinese as the Second Language in Philosophical Point of View-Taking the example of "Linguistic-Game"Theory", Journal of Henan University (Social Science), 2006, 46(2)
4. Liquan, "Theoretical thinking about teaching Chinese as a Foreign Language", Journal of Renmin University of China, 1996(5)
5. Zhou Jian, "On Teaching of Chinese Intuition", Chinese Language Learning, 2003(1)
6. Na yingzhi,Zhang Jingjing, "Approach and Strategy Study on Interest Teaching of Chinese for foreigners", Journal of Yichun College, 2011, 33(9)
7. Liu Chen, "The place of Games in the Teaching of Second Language and Verifying Their Worth", Beijing Foreign Study University (professional master's dissertation), 2009
8. Wang Lianhui, "Classroom Games in Teaching Chinese to Speakers of Other Languages", East China Normal University (professional master's dissertation), 2011
9. Hua Ziwu, "Introducing and Appraising Wittgenstein's 'Language-game' view point", Journal of Chaohu College, 2008, 10(1)
10. Deng Xiujun, "An Exploration into Classroom Questioning Model to Help Students Reduce Anxiety", Journal of Research on Education for Ethnic Minorities, 2008, 10(1)

11. Shang Jianguo, “An Empirical Study on Affective Factor in English Learning”, Journal of Anhui University of Technology (Social Sciences), 2007, 24(3)
12. Liu Hui, “On Later Wittgenstein’s View of Language from the perspective of Ontological Philosophy of Language”, Foreign Language Research, 2010, (6)
13. Jia Xiangliu, “The Cognitive Foundation of Imitation and its implication to Foreign Language Teaching”, Journal of Hengyang Normal University, 2006, 27(4)
14. Cui Ruan, “Study Chinese Curriculum Standard, Deepen the reform of Chinese teaching”, Curriculum, Teaching Material and Method, 2002, (4)
15. Chen Wenbo, “The Approach of Task-based Language Teaching in Teaching Chinese as a Foreign Language”, Language and Translation, 2011, (2)
16. Edward Sapir, Language-an introduction to the study of speech, (New York:Harcourt, Brace, 1921)

STUDIA UBB PHILOLOGIA, LVIII, 1, 2013, p. 45 - 56
(RECOMMENDED CITATION)

THE THEME OF "SPIRIT POSSESSION": MURASAKI SHIKIBU, *GENJI MONOGATARI*, ZEAMI, *AOI-NO-UE* AND YUKIO MISHIMA, *AOI*

FLORINA ILIS[*]

ABSTRACT. ***The theme of "spirit possession": Murasaki Shikibu, Genji monogatari, Zeami, Aoi-no-Ue and Yukio Mishima, Aoi***.The present paper tries to study the influence and traces of the theme of Spirit Possesion, drawn from the novel *Genji monogatari* and later reshaped dramatically in two texts largely separated in time, but both connected to the model of Murasaki Shikibu's epic. The texts we deal with are *Aoi no Ue* by Zeami Motokiyo (1363-1443), a play from the nō theatre repertory, respectively the play *Aoi*, part of the modern nō theatre five-play collection written by Yukio Mishima (1925-1970). Starting from the well-known scene of *Genji monogatari*, Zeami and later Mishima would add, through a process of hypertextual reconfiguration, new valences and dimensions to the nature of the originary model, transformations which we focus upon on this study.

Keywords: spirit possession, nō theatre, modern nō theatre, hypertextuality

REZUMAT. ***Tema "posesiunii spiritelor": Murasaki Shikibu, Genji monogatari, Zeami, Aoi no Ue şi Yukio Mishima, Aoi***. În acest studiu vom urmări maniera în care tema „posesiunii spiritelor" (Spirit Possesion) a fost preluată din romanul *Genji monogatari* şi felul în care a fost, ulterior, reformulată din punct de vedere dramatic, în două texte situate la distanţe mari în timp. Textele la care ne referim sunt *Aoi no Ue* de Zeami Motokiyo (1363-1443), piesă din repertoriul de teatru nō, precum şi piesa *Aoi*, care face parte din colecţia de cinci piese de teatru nō modern, scrise de Yukio Mishima (1925-1970). Având ca punct de plecare episodul binecunoscut din *Genji monogatari*,

[*] Associated lecturer – Faculty of Letters, „Babeş-Bolyai" University; Writer. Major research interests: Literary criticism, Japanese Literature. Main publications: Book review: *Shuichi Kato: L'histoire de la littérature japonnaise, Editura Nipponica, Bucharest, 1998*, in „Studia Universitatis Babeş-Bolyai. Seria Philologia", An XLIII, no.4, 1998; *Fenomenul science fiction în cultura postmodernă. Ficţiunea cyberpunk* (*Science Fiction Phenomenon in Postmodern Culture. The Cyberpunk Fiction*), Cluj-Napoca: Argonaut, 2005: *Murasaki Shikibu, Genji Monogatari. The Fictional Chronicle of the Heian World*, in „Studia Universitatis Babeş-Bolyai. Seria Philologia**"**, An LV, no.3, 2010. **Literary awards:** Literary awards: 2005 – **Book of the Year** for the novel ***Cruciada copiilor*** (*Children's Crusade),* awarded by **România Literară Review;** 2006 – **Prize for Prose** for the novel ***Cruciada copiilor*** (*Children's Crusade),* awarded by Cuvântul Literary Review; 2006 – **Prize for Prose** for the novel ***Cruciada copiilor*** (*Children's Crusade)*, awarded by the **Romanian Writers' Union;** 2006 – **Prize for Prose** for the novel ***Cruciada copiilor*** (*Children's Crusade)*, awarded by the **Romanian Writers' Union (Cluj);** 2006 – **Prize for Prose** awarded by the **Romanian Academy**. E-mail: ilisf@hotmail.com.

atât Zeami, cât şi, mai târziu, Mishima vor adăuga, printr-un proces de configurare hipertextuală, noi valenţe şi dimensiuni faţă de natura modelului originar, transformări pe care le vom analiza în acest studiu.

Cuvinte-cheie: Spirit Possession, teatrul nō, teatru nō modern, hipertextualitate

Seen by many researchers as the first great novel of the world literature, *Genji monogatari* was written by Murasaki Shikibu (978-1016), a former lady-in-waiting (nyōbō) of empress Akiko. Besides its historical value, the novel exerted considerable influence on the evolution of Japanese literature, as well as of its art and culture, in general. A great source of inspiration, worshipped by entire generations of literates, a reference cultural model, *Genji monogatari* is an epic work that generated a series of hypertextual relations with the Japanese literature, which resorted to the primary text in an either direct or polemical manner.

Genji monogatari left a enduring mark upon the entire following Japanese literature[1]. The novel is, however, also relevant from the perspective of literary theory due to what Genette calls „la transcendance textuelle"[2]: it constitutes, namely, a text with poetic, almost canonical „authority" that generated in time a series of transtextual relations with other later texts, inspired from the rich epic material of the ancient novel.

Starting from the theme of "spirit possesion", this study tries to analyze the influence of one of the most famous scenes of possession from the novel *Genji monogatari*, where Aoi, Genji's wife, is haunted by lady Rokujō's spirit. The respective scene would form the poetic core of dramatic texts published much later but resorting, all, to the model of *Genji monogatari*. The texts we focus upon are *Aoi no Ue*, a play from the nō theatre repertory, written by Zeami Motokiyo (1363-1443), and the play *Aoi*, belonging to the collection of five modern nō theatre plays written by Yukio Mishima (1925-1970). Drawing upon the well-known scene from *Genji monogatari*, both Zeami and, later, Mishima would add, in a process of hypertextual reconfiguration, new valences and dimensions to the nature of the originary model. Our study tries to analyze these changes.

Some researchers doubt that 14th and 15th century nō playwrights (or *sarugaku*), including Zeami, did have access to the complete text of *Genji monogatari*; they might, instead, have used incomplete script copies, compiled in the later centuries: „As I shall demonstrate below, there is concrete evidence suggesting that, rather than going back to the Genji itself, playwrights may in fact have relied on handbooks pertaining to the Genji that were compiled in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries as aids in composing poetry." [3]

---

[1] J.M. Maki, *Lady Murasaki and the Genji monogatari*, *Monumenta Nipponica*, vol. 3, nr. 2, 1940, p. 497.

[2] Gerard Genette, *Introduction à l'architexte*, Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1979, p. 87.

[3] Janet Emily Goff, *The Tale of Genji as a Source of the Nō: Yūgao and Hajitomi*, ***Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies***, vol. 42, nr. 1, 1982, pp. 178-179.

In her study, Janet Emily Goff disscusses the plays *Yūgao* and *Hajitomi*, corresponding to the *Genji monogatari* chapter entitled *Yugao* or *Evening Faces*. Well-documented historically, the analysis of the two nō theatre plays grounds the hypothesis that playwrights could have drawn on compilations of texts edited after the Heian period, bringing evidence both from the historical perspective of an age of wars for power and hegemony, as well as from the poetical perspective. In the absence of documents and records, literary historians are not certain about the extent to which nō playwrights did use the original text of the novel or only grasped it through intermediary or incomplete versions. However, one can easily infer that the literary elite from the Kamakura and, later, the Muromachi period could not have possibly ignored the existence of Murasaki Shikibu's text which belonged, together with other works from the Heian period, to the basic fund of the canon of cult literary tradition. In support of this assumption stands the use of poetic allusions (*honkadori*), inserted in nō theatre plays, either by direct borrowing, or by resorting to intermediary copies, nevertheless faithful to the literary tradition. Writers from the Muromachi period, who were endowed by the new *bushi* aristocracy, regarded the poetic tradition from the Heian period as their prime model, regardless of the texts' filiation. It was the basic model they followed, learnt from, but also criticized, when trying to reinterprete the canon in order to elaborate new models, more adequate to the austere contemporary taste. Janet Emily Goff agrees with the importance of *Genji monogatari* as a source of inspiration for dramatic texts: „Playwrights thus were not breaking new ground in their choice of material, but rather followed the mainstream of Genji appreciation in the middle ages when the tale was regarded above all as a source of inspiration and allusion for poets."[4]

However, even if exerted through intermediary texts and copies, which were easier to obtain by family inheritance of manuscripts in the Heian period, this type of influence and poetic contamination still did not engender a considerable gap between the original model of *Genji monogatari* and nō threatre plays. On the contrary, the process reasserted the function of the base reference as source and built around the prime model some kind of poetic aura, such as only in imperial anthologies of poetry *Man'yōshū* and *Kokinshū* had also been possible, due to the pre-eminence of the model, as well as to its aesthetical, canonical value.

In order to analyze the way in which the fragment-model of *Genji monogatari* enters this process of *transformation* by reflection, we rely upon Gérard Genette's basic terms used to define the hypertextual relation. In accordance with the French theorist's notions, we can infer that *transformational procedures* reassert and reconfigure new possibilities to elaborate on the theme of Spirit Possession, recurrent in the epochs after the Heian period and developed, through fantastic literature, until the modern age. Genette defines the "*mimetic hypertextuality*" as a historical process of

[4] Janet Emily Goff, *The Tale of Genji as a Source of the Nō: Yūgao and Hajitomi*, ***Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies***, vol. 42, nr. 1, 1982, p. 179.

contagion and *imitation* in relation to the classical tradition of genres, characterized by a "désir d'exploiter ou détourner un courant de succès"[5]. Accordingly, one can study the way in which the model theme of Spirit Possession is re-staged by Zeami in *Aoi-no-Ue* as a central moment of an exorcism ritual, and later by Yukio Mishima in the drama *Aoi* as an expression of "exorcising" fears and anguish, in anticipation of the psychoanalytical method as a modern antidote against evil "spirits". Genette analyzes the way in which certain literary genres come somehow out of fashion, but are later resumed within the literary circuit and reshaped, either by parody (*transposition stylistique*), or by serious transposition (*transposition serieuse*). Based on these observations, the French theorist draws a major distinction between the two types of relation to older models (be them literary genres or proper themes):

> "La transposition, au contraire, peur s'investir dans des oeuvres de vastes dimensions... dont l'amplitude textuele et l'ambition esthétique et/ou idéologique va jusqu'à masquer ou faire oublier leur caractère hypertextuel, et cette productivité même est liée à la diversité des procédés transformationnels qu'elle met en oeuvre."[6]

Japanese literature also records both types of hypertextual representation. On the one hand, the parody appears in the comical farce *kyōgen*, played during pauses of nō theatre plays. The farce imitates in a foul manner, by parody or pastiche, a model the audience could easily recognize, thus provoking laughter and relief among viewers. On the other hand, in the case of *serious transformation,* nō theatre plays only resume in dramatic form older literary themes and motives and re-stage them according to the cultural context of the period and according to the taste of the *bushi* warriors elite, which asks fro new, especially religious significations. The absence of original "subjects" from the repertory of plays kept at nō theatre plays does not entice the lack of playwrights' creativity, on the contrary, as in the case of Zeami, it asserts perfect knowledge of models of classical tradition from the Nara and especially the Heian period, but also the great esteem, extended almost to worship, in which those models were held. The theme of Spirit Possession, derived from *Genji monogatari*, is such an example.

The chapter *Heartvine* of *Genji monogatari* deals with the sickness and death of Aoi, Genji's wife. The respective scene is closely connected to the Yūgao scene that Murasaki Shikibu conceives as a kind of warning a gallantly-minded Genji is unable to perceive as such. No longer interested in lady Rokujō, the hero focuses now on young Yūgao, who is about to be punished and killed by the vengeful spirit of the abandoned woman. Genji's wife, Aoi, would encounter the same fate and the revenge of the same spirit. Aoi's illness is crucially influenced by

[5] Gerard Genette, *Palimpsestes. la littérature au second degré*, Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1982, p. 233.
[6] *Ibid*., p. 237.

lady Rokujō's malefic spirit, leading to the tragic denouement that the emperor had already predicted at the beginning of the chapter: „You should treat any women with tact and courtesy, and be sure that you cause her no embarrassment. You should never have a woman angry with you"[7]. Murasaki Shikibu points out that prince Genji dealt with unusual circumstances: „strange and moving time"[8], as his unfaithful deeds had then already become well-known to everybody. It is during that *strange time* that takes place the ceremony of induction in the Kamo temple of the great priestess, the daughter of empress Kokiden. The ceremony was organized in accordance with the austere *shinto* tradition and was completed by a procession accompanying the great priestess to the Ise temple. In such circumstances occurs the scene where the carriers of ladies Aoi and Rokujō's carriages each try to make place for their mistresses to reach up front and are thus caught in a legal conflict of preeminence. The carriers of Genji's wife win this fight, which deeply humiliates lady Rokujō. Genji does not, however, care too much about his pregnant wife's state whom he despises, but feels sorry for lady Rokujō. It is that very incident between the two ladies' carriers that seems to quickly trigger off the fatal denouement. Aoi falls ill and we are given the suggestion that her body was possessed by a malign spirit. Priests are brought by the patient and their prayers are able to cast out evil spirits, all but one which resists the monks' will. The exorcists have no doubt that the evil spirit belongs either to a jealous woman (lady Rokujō or lady Nijō), or to some deceased people who happened to clash, in time, with the family of Aoi, daughter to the leftist Minister of the emperor. As priests fail in finding a cure, it becomes apparent to everybody that the only one who could have hurt Genji's wife had to be lady Rokujō. The accused lady herself was feeling as if no longer self-controlled. Her clothes seemed imbued with the odor of stick burnt by priests who tried to exorcise Aoi, an odor which lingered in spite of all attempts to wash her hair or change her clothes. Therefore, Genji wonders whether he should talk to lady Rokujō, so as to try to tame her distress and smooth her anger.

Enlarging the hermeneutic perspective, Doris G. Bargen shifts the problematics of Spirit Possession from the epic terms of the novel to a cultural, antropological level, pointing out the fact that, especially in a society with so many prohibitions and taboos as the Heian one, relations between sexes are essentially determined by the disruptive factor of "aggression". Often endowed with ritualic value, aggression, or the desire to own and possess, acquired various dimensions in the Heian period. As Doris G. Bargen explains, aggresion together with the need to express anger in case of failure, as portrayed in *Genji monogatari*, represents a crucial element of the relation between sexes that antropological studies should take into account,

[7] Murasaki Shikibu, *The tale of Genji*, translated from the japanese by Edward G. Seidensticker, Londra: David Campbell Publishers Ltd., 1992, p.167.

[8] *Ibid*., p. 168

especially when dealing with the phenomenon of *mono no ke* or malefic spirit possession. The respective theme was resumed by Murasaki Shikibu, whose artistic conception was already well defined when she started writing the novel. The author resorted to the local traditional spiritual fund, but used a subtle narrative shift in order to re-stage the theme: placed in a privileged epic position, the theme was given purely literary, fictional significations, which overshadowed the originally folkloric signification, while religious, specifically Buddhist connotations (highlighted by the appearance of priests) also became much more blurred. Doris G. Bargen inscribes the theme of spirit possession in a larger cultural context and suggests that lady Rokujō's evil spirit enhances an aggression which regains its lost power through the new possession: „possessed woman is not a passive victim but an active agent who uses – subconsciously, surreptitiously, subversively – the charisma of others in the guise of mono no ke to empower herself"[9]. The theme of *mono no ke*, which can be read from an antropological, cultural, psychological or gender studies perspective, acquires artistic, poetic dimensions in the novel *Genji monogatari*. Murasaki Shikibu does not completely erase religious significations from the text, however she subordinates ancestral beliefs to the narrative functions, creating a new epic literary vision.

In order to maintain a balanced composition, Murasaki Shikibu choses to frame this major scene within the unhappy series of Genji's gallant adventures. Nevertheless, Mrs. Murasaki still hints at another, less obvious, spiritual dimension of the novel, underlying great dramatic potential, since Genji has exceptional qualities which make him vulnerable, but also trigger the cathartic process of dramatic sublimation. It is that very function, implicit in the novel *Genji monogatari*, that the nō theatre would later dwell upon, through Zeami and Yukio Mishima's modern dramas.

As it is considered a sacred act, nō theatre is essentially tied to stage representation and its capacity to render a dramatic mystery, rather than to its dramatic subject proper. According to Zeami, the true essence of nō theatre or *sarugaku* lies in the interpretive art of actors and their rendering of the *yūgen* ('mystery and depth') state on stage. This principle inspired Zeami to write 23 treaties on the art and performing techniques of the actor (the author himself being a remarkable actor), in an attempt to define the way towards what he called "the secret of the flower". Zeami does not lay emphasis on the text proper, although he himself draws his inspiration from the classical tradition on adapting certain texts for the plays staged at his school. The playwright grants the text the secondary function to provide the viewers with certain reference points in the view of grasping the mystery staged. From this perspective, any *transformation* of the model-text, either by inserting new significations or by leaving some basic meanings out, would be not only adequate, but quite necessary for the actors to be able to discover the "flower" path. Zeami

[9] Bargen, Doris G., *Woman's Weapon: Spirit Possession in the Tale of Genji*, Honolulu, HI, USA: University of Hawaii Press, 1997, p. 27.

writes down his ideas concerning the discovery and following of the "flower" path for testamentary reasons:

> "Les remarques concernant la transmission de la fleur de l'interprétation craignant qu'elles ne tombent sous les yeux du public, je les ai consignées par écrit pour servir de préceptes de famille à mes descendants."[10]

From a hypertextual point of view, Zeami succeeds in creating a double transposition: firstly, at the level of the genre, by turning an epic into a dramatic fragment and secondly, at the poetic level, as the model-text shifts from its initial function to a new, ritualic one.

For instance, the play *Aoi-no-Ue* turns the emphasis from the text proper to the ritualic character, manifested in the spirit exorcism scene performed by priest Kohijiri from Yokawa, an act which renders the entire play to its ritualic function, reaching almost religious significations, once it is fulfilled with the view of achieving the *yūgen* state. *Aoi-no-Ue* comes under the 5th category of plays, called *onryō-mono* or demon plays and draws its theme from the novel *Genji monogatari*. However, through the process of *transposition*, the new play reshapes the old theme giving it dramatic accents that help turning the viewers' attention from the story itself to the exorcism of the malefic spirit and, subsequently, to the performative art of the actor and his capacity to render the symbolic state of *yūgen*. The text itself stands apart from the model and the poetic function of the performance fades in favour of the ritualic function. The nō theatre has a marked symbolic character and therefore stages the arrival of a spirit from another world and its communication with a medium, commonly embodied by a Buddhist priest, whom he recounts his terrestrial, previous life: "the protagonist of the nō is usually some strange being from the other world: a deity, a spirit, the departed soul of a man, and the like. The core of the play consists of an account of life narrated by such a protagonist, a transcendental being who has been to the other world as well as to our world. We cannot directly see him or hear him talk; we can do that only through a medium, the deuteragonist of the play, who, aptly, is a Buddhist monk."[11]

Contrary to other nō plays from the same category, which stage the return of a rejected woman's ghost as vengeful spirit, *Aoi no ue* shows the spirit of a still-living lady Rokujō leaving her body in order to exact revenge on her rival for prince Genji's love, namely his own wife, Aoi. The structure of a nō play is rather rigid generally and does not allow many departures from the set rules. However, in this case, it becomes apparent the author tried to keep the well-known scene as close as possible to the original text of *Genji monogatari* and thus preserved its character, while he adapted the basic scheme of the play to the given content.

[10] Zeami, *La traditions secrète du nō*. Traduction et commentaires de René Sieffert, Paris: Gallimard, p. 2005, p. 90.

[11] Makoto Ueda, *Literary and Art Teories in Japan*, The University of Michigan, 1991, pp. 67-68.

Therefore, according to the basic structure, in the first part of the play, including the dialogue between *shite* and *waki*, lady Rokujō, playing *shite,* appears as a princess, while the role of *waki* is rendered by a shaman-woman. In the second part of the play, *shite* appears as a furious demon whom the sacred monk Kohijiri tries to exorcise by Buddhist means, after Teruhi, the shaman-woman, failed in doing so. The subject of the demon's pursuit, lady Aoi, does not appear on stage, but is represented by the image of a *kimono* (*kosode*) placed up front. Neither does Genji appear on stage and his absence proves, once more, the shift of dramatic interest towards the ritual of exorcism meant for the malefic spirit. Similar to other nō theatre plays, there is actually no dramatic conflict or complex action occuring on stage; the play focuses instead on the dialogue of the living with the outer world spirits in search of their eternal peace. Those spirits return to the living world in the role of *shite*, because they had faced a problem which remained unsolved before physical death caught them off guard. The scene of Aoi illustrates the very rare case of a spirit leaving the body of a still-living person in order to pursue another person from the distance. From this point of view, one could assert that mood and atmosphere are more important than textual support in the nō theatre, which re-creates an intermediary world between the living and the spirits:

> "The flash-back technique of the Mugen nō makes possible a vivid recreation of an episode from earlier literature while retaining the illusion of a world of dreams wich transcends space and time. By making only the waki contemporaneous with the audience the Mugen nō effectively creates a trance-like atmosphere in wich to present the dramatic re-creation of an episode." [12]

As for Yukio Mishima's modern play, *Aoi*, it wholly preserves the fantastic, mysterious aspect of the malefic possession, but the author gives the poetic function pre-eminence and deals with the complex relations between characters at a modern, psychological level. Thus, Hikaru (Genji's other name) has had an extramarital affair with lady Rokujō, to whom he speaks right in the hospital ward where his sick wife, Aoi, lies. The writer imbues the dialogue with a vague shade of fantastic, making it difficult to distinguish the real and the imaginary. The conversation of the two former lovers highlights the confrontation between the woman abandoned by her lover and the jealousy she feels for the ill wife of her former lover. Apart from *Genji monogatari*, as well as from Zeami's play, *Aoi-no-Ue*, Mishima's drama lacks the moment of spirit exorcism and ends with the death of the ill woman, namely Hikaru's wife. The events of the one-act play occur in a single hospital room, on whose bed lies Aoi, Hikaru's wife. The role of *waki* resorts to the nurse, respectively, to Hikaru himself. The psychological focus shifts from the demonic exorcism action to the nature of the relation between Hikaru and lady Rokujō, triggering a dramatic dialogue which still hints at Hikaru's

[12] Richard N. Mckinnon, *The Nō and Zeami*, in ***The Far Eastern Quarterly***, vol. XXI, nr. 3, 1952, p. 357.

devotion for his wife and at the fascination of his former love for lady Rokujō. The memory of that love is suggested by the image of yacht sails hallucinatorily looming over the stage. Another notable difference from the two previous texts lies in the presence of Hikaru-Genji, who is given a major role in the developement of the action, as compared to his rather episodical role from the fragment of *Genji monogatari* or to his actual absence from the drama *Aoi no ue*. In Mishima's play, Hikaru has just returned from a travel when he learns that his wife has been hospitalized. He appears on stage with his travel suitcase. The nurse tells him about the state of the patient and lets him know that every night an elegantly dressed lady, assumedly from the high society, visits Aoi. The presence of the nurse is by no means coincidental, as her manner of approaching Hikaru, whose handsomeness she compares to the famous Genji's, reminds, as a reference source, of young Yūgao, the one who estranged Genji from lady Rokujō. The scene where lady Rokujō's "living ghost" appears complies with the imaginary of fantastic literature and occurs exactly one hour after midnight. Lady Rokujō wears black gloves and a *kimono*. She addresses Hikaru in a manner reminding of the dialogue between *shite* and *tsure* from the nō theatre. They lead a symbolic, poetic conversation. Just like the *shite* character, lady Rokujō reveals her identity: "Contrairement à ce qui se passe le jour, mon corps la nuit est libre. Tout dort, les gens et les objets inanimés, tous ensemble. Et durant leur sommeil, ils sont pleins de fissures et de crevasses; il est facile de passer à travers eux.... L'air de la nuit est complice: la haine et l'amour, la joie et la peur joignent les mains dans l'air de la nuit. L'assasin dans le noir éprouve de l'affection pour la femme qu'il a tuée."[13]

Although she is sleeping and seems unaware of what is happenning in the hospital room, Aoi dreams of the malefic presence of the ghost, the state of dream fulfilling thus the function of medium for the woman possessed by a spirit. Despite the impression of verosimilitude (rendered by the telephone, the hospital room), the play evolves in a strange supernatural atmosphere, enhanced by the image of a yacht with sails looming over the stage. Lady Rokujō herself reveals the reason of this apparition, which is to take Hikaru and bring him to her abode from the middle of the lake. The fantastic state lingers all along the course of events. The situation would unravel only at the end, when Hikaru phones lady Rokujō, who assures him she has spent the whole night indoors. While he is speaking on the phone with lady Rokujō, lady Rokujō's ghost resurfaces on the pretext of her having forgotten the gloves next to the phone. Caught off guard between the two worlds, the real one, embodied by the phone voice of lady Rokujō and the surreal, fantastic one, of the same lady Rokujō's living ghost, coming back after her gloves, Hikaru doesn't know what to believe. His perplexity seems the only natural thing in this tensioned dramatic moment of confrontation between the two opposing, yet complementary worlds. The predictable denouement (Aoi's death) leaves no doubt about the role played by

[13] Yukio Mishima, *Cinq nō modernes théâtre*. Traduit du japonais par Marquerite Yourcenar avec la collaboration du Jun Shiragi, Paris: Gallimard, 1991, pp. 129-130.

the malefic spirit in the whole course of events. From a modern point of view, Mishima's drama also enables a possible psychoanalytical reading. The presence of lady Rokujō, deeply hurt by her split from Hikaru, who married a younger woman, points out the feelings of an abandoned woman. The psychological turmoil brings forth some kind of split of the spirit, who dualizes, acting at both real and imaginary level. In her turn, Aoi, Hikaru's wife, is hurt by her husband's former unfaithfulness and thus is haunted in her dreams by the ghost of his former mistress, who makes her fall ill and, eventually, lose her life. In modern terms, the dramatic tension gathers in the complex circumstances of a marital triangle, which would place Mishima's play in the hermeneutical frame of modern psychological drama, were it not also for the new signification triggered by the writer's intention to create a hypertextual transposition in relation to *Genji monogatari* and to the structure of nō theatre. The author's attempt to set intertextual relations both with *Gengi monogatari* and with nō theatre is so the more obvious and transparent as he keeps the theme without even changing the characters' names and draws the idea of the *shite-waki* dialogue from the basic dramatic structure of nō theatre, even though he cuts the exorcism ritual, which would have been improper in a modern drama.

In *Aoi no Ue* and *Aoi,* the imitation of a model triggers certain changes that can be pointed out at least at two interpretive levels, both poetic and semantic. Despite preserving the almost intact original theme, the new writers shift the genre, from epic to dramatic. It is a transformation which could be accounted for in Genette's term of *transvocalisation*, denoting the change of person. Thus, *Aoi no Ue* turns, at a poetic level, the epic function to a dramatic one, a process leading to changes in what regards the hypertextual practice, both at the level of the plot and characters' roles, and, especially, at the level of reception. Readers of the novel *Genji monogatari*, who came from the elite of the Heian period, were completely different socially from the bushi elite of the Muromachi period. The ritualic, symbolic character of the play *Aoi no Ue* followed naturally the line of an usual nō theatre play, both in what concerned subordination of dramatic action to the sacred function and in the intention to create an atmosphere typical to the mystery of religious theatre:

> "If the nō intends to present the mysteries of the cosmos by means of visual and auditory symbols, its relationship to religion is obvious, for religion tries to teach the mysterious truths of pre- and after-life through a symbolic or metaphysical system, too. The nō is a religous drama; it is a ritual. The implications of the nō are predominantly Buddhist; they point toward a Buddhist scheme of salvation."[14]

The nō theatre is undoubtedly a ritualic theatre and its writers, Zeami, on top, are fully aware the only way to set a hypertextual dialogue with the literary tradition is by imitation and, thence, by contamination and transposition within a new frame of spirituality, which is that of the Zen Buddhism. If we define the poeticity in its basic, Aristotelian sense, as representation in verse of human actions distinguished by the

[14] Makoto Ueda, p. 70.

degree of moral or social dignity, we could see in the nō theatre case of staging deceased people's restless spirits a generic epitome of the tragic force and greatness specific to the ancient Greek theatre.

A new change occurs from *Aoi no ue* to Mishima's modern play *Aoi*, regarding both the poetic discourse and the symbolic intention. Mishima doesn't try to hide the hypertextual character of his play, underlined in his insistence upon the reason that determines lady Rokujō to turn into a malefic spirit, yet he somehow humanizes his characters, who lose some of their epic aura provided by Murasaki Shikibu and the spiritual-religious dimensions from Zeami's play, but achieve instead human modern features. Nevertheless, the vaguely fantastic character of the play, adding to the referential function of the text, reactivated by the theme of spirit possession, makes Mishima's modern play a great example of unique transposition, where thematic (retournement idéologique) and spatial transformation are determinant, engendering hypertextual relations between texts belonging to such different epochs. The spatial translation (a modern hospital room) and the absence of exorcist priests desacralize the theme, turning the focus of Mishima's play somehow back to its basic poetic position, initially rendered by the novel *Genji monogatari*. The difference lies however in the fact that, compared to Zeami's *Aoi no Ue*, Mishima changes the direction of the process of "textual transcendence" whose starting point had been *Genji monogatari*. If Zeami gives the theme a symbolic, sacred character, underlied by the dialogical structure of the text, Mishima deals with the theme without religious momentum, but in a poetic direction which adds to the dramatic force imposed by the dialogic form of the nō theatre and its framing vision.

Read from such perspective, the two texts, Zeami's *Aoi-no-Ue* and Yukio Mishima's *Aoi,* can no longer be considered mere imitations of the *Genji monogatari*, but privileged hypertextual successors of the novel, which they draw from in new forms and different visions. Hypertextual transformations function in cascade circuit from one text to another, set influences and reciprocal contaminations of poetic/epic-religious/sacred-semantic/stylistic levels, in a renewed process of *textual transcendence*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Bargen, Doris G., *Woman's Weapon: Spirit Possession in the Tale of Genji*, Honolulu, HI, USA: University of Hawaii Press, 1997.
2. Genette, Gerard, *Introduction à l'architexte*, Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1979.
3. Genette, Gerard, *Palimpsestes. La littérature au second degré*, Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1982.

4. Goff, Janet Emily, *The Tale of Genji as a Source of the Nō: Yūgao and Hajitomi*, in „Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies", Vol. 42, Nr. 1, 1982.
5. Maki, J.M., *Lady Murasaki and the Genji monogatari*, in „Monumenta Nipponica", vol 3, no.2, 1940.
6. Mckinnon, Richard N., *The Nō and Zeami*, in „The Far Eastern Quarterly", vol. XXI, nr. 3, 1952.
7. Mishima, Yukio, *Cinq nō modernes théâtre*. Traduit du japonais par Marquerite Yourcenar avec la collaboration du Jun Shiragi, Paris: Gallimard, 1991.
8. Murasaki Shikibu, *The tale of Genji*, translated from the japanese by Edward G. Seidensticker, Londra: David Campbell Publishers Ltd., 1992.
9. Ueda, Makoto, *Literary and Art Teories in Japan*, The University of Michigan, 1991.
10. Zeami, *La traditions secrète du nō*. Traduction et commentaires de René Sieffert, Paris: Gallimard, 2005.
11. Zeami, *Aoi-no-Ue,* in *Japanese Noh Drama*, vol. 2, Tuttle, 1955.

STUDIA UBB PHILOLOGIA, LVIII, 1, 2013, p. 57 - 66
(RECOMMENDED CITATION)

THE MODERNIZATION OF JAPANESE LITERATURE A BRIEF COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE

MATTHEW KÖNIGSBERG[1]

ABSTRACT. ***The Modernization of Japanese Literature. A Brief Comparative Perspective.*** This paper views the modernization process of Japanese literature from a comparative perspective. In the first section, a number of impulses from comparative literature are introduced in order to put the process of literary modernization in Japan into perspective. Second of all, the traditional view of Japan's road to the modern novel (Tsubouchi Shōyō's *Shōsetsu shinzui* = The Essence of the Novel leading to Futabatei Shime's *Ukigumo* = *The Drifting Cloud*) is briefly sketched, only to be called into question on a number of counts: To begin with, the goal of *gembun itchi* ("the unity of the spoken and written language") which was supposedly achieved by Futabatei turns out to be neither exhaustively defined (reduced, as it usually is, to the question of auxiliary verbs in Japanese) nor in itself sufficient (since the idea of literary modernization involved more than a simple shift in tense). Finally, several newer ideas on Japan's possible route to modern literature are discussed, including the role of poetological works and of Japan's first literary journal, *Garakuta bunko* (= Rubbish Literature).

Keywords: literary modernization, Western impact, literary realism, *gembun itchi,* the unity of spoken and written language'

REZUMAT. ***Modernizarea literaturii japoneze: O scurtă privire contrastivă.*** Această lucrare privește procesul de modernizare a literaturii japoneze dintr-un punct de vedere comparativ. În prima secțiune, un număr de influențe din literatura comparată sunt introduse pentru a pune în perspectivă procesul modernizării literare în Japonia. În al doilea rând, viziunea tradițională asupra evoluției către romanul japonez modern („Shōsetsu shinzui","Esența Romanului" a lui Tsubouchi Shōyō conducând la "Ukigumo" ["Nor trecător"], al lui Futabatei Shime) este conturată sumar, pentru a fi pusă în discuție în mai multe rânduri. Pentru început, scopul *gembun itchi* ("unitatea limbajului vorbit și scris"), despre care se presupune că a fost atinsă de Futabatei Shime, nu este definit în totalitate (este redus, ca de obicei, la problema verbelor auxiliare în limba japoneză) și nu este, în sine, suficient (deoarece ideea modernizării literare implică mai mult decât o schimbare de timp verbal). În final, sunt discutate câteva idei noi asupra rutelor posibile către literatura japoneză modernă, inclusiv rolul lucrărilor poetologice și a primului jurnal literar japonez "Garakuta bunko" ("Literatură-maculatură").

Cuvinte-cheie: modernizare literară, impactul vestic, realism literar, *gembun itchi* ('unitatea limbajului vorbit și scris')

[1] Matthew Königsberg studied Japanese language and literature at the University of Hamburg and took his PhD at the University of Tübingen. Following teaching appointments at the Universities of Hamburg and Frankfurt (Germany) and at Washington University in St. Louis (USA), he currently teaches Japanese language at the Free University of Berlin. He has published on Classical Japanese literature (*Konjaku monogatari shū*, Ihara Saikaku and Suzuki Shōsan), on the literature of the Meiji period and on the literature of the Korean minority in Japan.

Within an extremely short period after Commodore Perry's black ships appeared off the Japanese coast, Japan had caught up with the West in a number of vital fields. This was made clear by the defeat of Czarist Russia's troupes in the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-1905. Japan was almost as fast when it came to beating the West at its own game of writing realistic literature, at least as far as one researcher, Yamamoto Masahide, is concerned. Based on his statistical investigations (involving the parameter of "*gembun itchi*" or "the unity of the spoken and the writen language," on which more will be said below), Yamamoto estimated the number of novels in the modern language at 78% in 1905, the year of the Russo-Japanese War. By 1908, according to Yamamoto, the number of new novels reached 100%.[2] Obviously, the process involved is too complex and the definition too unstable to reach such simple numbers. Yet the research group at the Charles University in Prague, who undertook their comparative study of the modernization of Asian literatures during the 1960's, also reached the conclusion that Japan had been extremely effective in carrying out literary reform: "When observing the formation of the fundamental conditions underlying the rise of modern literature in Japan from the aspects of their differences in time and differences of analogies with the other societies discussed, it is the overall brevity of the period during which the respective changes took place that appears to be most striking."[3]

While it is on the one hand legitimate to point to this rapid development as a specific characteristic of the modernization of Japanese literature, one would do well to avoid a Japanese literary *Nihonjinron*. That such claims to uniqueness were invalid was, indeed, one conclusion of the Prague research group, which investigated modernizing literature from Japan to Iran and discovered - despite the great geographical distances and such important cultural differences as the presence or absence of a dominant religious tradition such as Islam - more similarities than differences. These common features are sometime extra-literary, and have to do, for instance, with the role of literature in society: "On the whole we may say that the relatively chequered picture which the various Asian literatures present from this point of view [= the role of literature in society], immediately following the European cultural impact, becomes markedly more unified and uniform. Nowhere does the soical prestige of literature decline, on the contrary, it shows a distinct rise, literature, indeed, advancing to the uppermost rung of the cultural ladder; it is proof of the high evaluation of literature as a new and effective means for achieving social progress."[4] Other factors are inner-literary, such as the reform of language, which played such an important part in Japan (but also, as this quote makes clear, in Iran): "It is also of interest in this connection that in Persian and Japanese, both of which contain a strong foreign

[2] Yamamoto Masahide: *Gembun itchi no rekishi ronkō*. Ōfūsha, 1978, p. 21.

[3] Zlata Černá et. al.: *Contributions to the Study of the Rise and Development of Modern Literatures in Asia,* vol. 3 (= *Dissertationes Orientales*, 28). Prague: Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, 1970, p. 98.

[4] Oldřich Kràl et. al.: *Contributions to the Study of the Rise and Develpment of Modern Literatures in Asia*, vol. 2 (= Dissertationes Orientales, 15). Prague: Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, 1968, p. 31. Emphasis (underlining) in the original.

element, movements for the reform of the language arose considerably earlier than the impact of European culture; they were movements for a return to the classical language of the past, in Iran bazgasht and in Japan kokugaku."[5] An even broader structuralistic approach than that of the Prague group is embraced by the Tel Aviv school, with its "laws of literary interference," as formulated by Itamar Even-Zohar:

> "1. General principles of interference
>
> 1.1 Literatures are never in non-interference.
>
> 1.2 Interference is mostly unilateral.
>
> 1.3 Literary interference is not necessarily linked with other interference on other levels between communities.
>
> 2. Conditions for the emergence and occurence of interference
>
> 2.1 Contacts will sooner of later generate interference if no resisting conditions arise.
>
> 2.2 A source literature is selected by prestige.
>
> 2.3 A source literature is selected by dominance.
>
> 2.4 Interference occurs when a system is in need of items unavailable within itself.
>
> 3. Processes and procedures of interference
>
> 3.1 Contacts may take place with only one part of the target literature; they may then proceed to other parts.
>
> 3.2 An appropriated repertoire does not necessarily maintain source literature functions.
>
> 3.3 Appropriation tends to be simplified, regularized, schematized."[6]

Obviously, such broad "laws" do little to explain the specific situation of Japan. They do, however, suggest that it is more usual the case than not that literatures are influenced (or "interfered" with) and change as a result. The following paper will re-examine the course of Japanese literary modernization, using in comparison other literatures. In this way, the standard depiction of Japan's road to the modern realist novel can be challenged and enriched.

What is the "standard depiction of Japan's road to the modern realist novel?" This question was probably first posed (and answered) in the USA by Marleigh Grayer Ryan's study: *Japan's First Modern Novel: Ukigumo of Futabatei Shimei*.[7] In her second chapter, "Tsubouchi Shōyō and Futabatei, The Emergence of the Modern Novel," Ryan gives an account of the way in which "*Shōsetsu shinzui*" (The Essence of the Novel, 1885-1886), "the first major work of modern literary criticism in Japan,"[8] influenced or rather instructed the author Futabatei Shimei to publish his

[5] Král et. al.: *Contributions*, vol. 2, p. 108-109.
[6] Itamar Even-Zohar: "Laws of Literary Interference," *Poetics Today*, 11, No. 1 (Spring 1990), p. 59.
[7] Marleigh Grayer Ryan: *Japan's First Modern Novel, Ukigumo of Futabatei Shimei*. New York & London: Columbia Univ. Press, 2nd edition, 1971.
[8] Ryan: *Japan's First Modern Novel*, p. 41.

novel *Ukigumo* (The Drifting Clouds, 1887-1889), in its turn "Japan's first modern novel." The translation of *Ukigumo* offered by Ryan would seem to back up her position; a closer investigation of the original text shows that many passages are deeply indebted to earlier models of Japanese literature. Thus, Karatani Kōjin quotes two passages from works of modern Japanese literature, one from Mori Ōgai's novella "*Maihime*" (The Dancing Girl, 1899) and one from Futabatei's *Ukigumo*. After quoting from both works, Karatani contrasts them and comes to the conclusion that *Ukigumo* is not so "modern" after all:

> "While written in the literary (*bungo*) style, 'The Dancing Girl' has the conceptual and grammatical structure of a work written in a European language and translated into Japanese. It is 'realistic.' *The Drifiting Clouds*, on the other hand, is almost impossible to translate into English, and despite its array of moutaches has nothing 'realistic' about it."[9]

One can take exception to Karatani's argumentation; it is, for example, not immediately clear what he means by "the grammatical structure of a work written in a European language." As it turns out, the portion of *Ukigumo* which he quotes is indeed indebted to earlier Japanese literary tradition. It is the beginning of the novel, where the author describes the Japanese gentlemen swarming out into the streets after office hours in metonymic terms by listing the types of facial hair that they sport. This is indeed a technique from the literature of the Edo period, to be seen for instance at the beginning of *Shunshoku umegoymi* (The Spring-colored Plum Calendar, 1832-1833), where the clothing of the geisha Yonehachi is described piece for piece when she first appears in the novel.[10] Other parts of the novel, for instance a landscape description, are couched in a highly poetic idiom.[11] Still other parts of the novel depend heavily on direct quote of speech to advance the plot. This, as well, is a characteristic of the Edo genre of the *ninjōbon* (book of human feeling), where dialogue constitutes roughly ninety percent of the work.[12]

What, then, exactly, is "modern" about *Ukigumo*? The answer lies in the style. *Ukigumo* is considered to be the first major novel written in a style approximating the spoken language. Efforts to create a literary style that did not diverge from the spoken language were characteristic of most Asian literatures, as the Prague group points out:

> "In all the literatures we are considering there were efforts to change the literary language in the initial phase after European impact; these efforts

[9] Karatani Kōjin: *Origins of Modern Japanese Literature*. Edit. Brett de Bary. Durham: Duke University Press,2nd edition, 1994, p. 50.

[10] Alan S. Woodhull: *Romantic Edo Fiction: A Study of the Ninjobon and Complete Translation of the "Shunshoku umegoyomi."* Dissertation, Stanford Univ., 1978. Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, p. 199.

[11] Matthew Königsberg: *Ozaki Kōyō (1867-1903), Literarisches Schaffen zwischen Tradition und Moderne*. Hamburg: Gesellschaft für Natur und Völkerkunde Ostasiens e.V. (= *MOAG* 146), 2008, p. 406.

[12] Ekkehard May: "Konstanten der modernen japanischen Erzähprosa und ihr Verhältnis zur literarischen Tradition," *Bochumer Jahrbuch zur Ostasienforschung*, 4 (1981), p. 138.

> were at first spontaneous and then systematic, and in the case of Japan even organized (the gembun-itchi movement), and took the direction of bringing the literary nearer to the spoken language. This tendency is clearly connected with the general trend to a more prosaic literature in view of the didactic aims pursued and the desire (for the most part openly proclaimed) to make literature more democratic, more broadly communicative."[13]

The Japanese term "*gembun itchi*" means "unity of the spoken and written language." In traditional works on the subject such as Yamamoto Masahide's *Gembun itchi no rekishi ronkō* (A Study on the History of 'The unity of the spoken and written language'), the modernization of language tends to be reduced to one aspect: instead of the auxiliary verbs of Classical Japanese, the verbs of modern colloquial Japanese (notably the copula *de aru*) are used. Thus Yamamoto Masahide:

> "This '*de aru*,' which came from the direct translation of Western languages, was accepted as a sentence-final element with a general and neutral character, as an equivalent for the form '*nari*' in Classical Japanese. It therefore established itself in the role of a sentence ending for the colloquial style."[14]

Yamamoto Masahide's "statistic" for the transition to the modern novel was quoted above; obviously, having only one such criterium for the definition is virtually a prerequisite for such statistics to begin with. Yet this idea did not originate with Yamamoto Masahide. In his argument for the use of a modern style, the writer Yamada Bimyō also uses the verbs of Classical Japanese as examples for the old-fashioned style:

> "Nowadays, we have started to write dialogue in our stories about contemporary life (*sewamono*) in the spoken language, and it is really unbearable when the narrative passages in the literary language (*gabuntai*) use the verbs of Classical Japanese *nari*, *keri*, and *beshi*. That clashes with the dialogue."[15]

Thus, Yamamoto Masahide is employing a criterium to formulate his definition of "the unity of written and spoken language" which was also used at the time. The auxiliary verbs of Classical Japanese were to be abolished in favor of the more colloquial forms.

One possible difficulty with this innovation lies in the fact that Classical Japanese had more forms than does modern colloquial Japanese. This would not necessarily need to create a problem. Certain examples would, however, tend to point to the fact that there cannot be too many tenses in a literary language, so to speak. In his study of the development of modern Hebrew prose, Robert Alter discusses the way that a tense which had not been part of the language of the Hebrew Bible was put to the service of the modern Hebrew novel:

---

[13] Král: *Contributions*, 2, p. 110.
[14] Yamamoto Masahide: *Gembun itchi no rekishi ronkō*, p. 21.
[15] Quoted in Nakagawa Shojūrō: "'Iratsume' to gembun itchi," *Bimyō senshū*. Edit. Yanagida Izumi, Kyōto: Ritsumeikan shuppan bu, 1935, p. 27.

> "In consonance with this reorientation toward time, the simple past tense (Hebrew, *pa'al*) is largely replaced by the past continuous or iterative tense (Hebrew, *hayah po'el*), as in our second sentence, "Hagzar would trample ..." This tense, as we had occasion to observe earlier, is an invention of rabbinic Hebrew, abundantly used in both legal and narrative texts, but Gnessin is the first to make it the central vehicle of novelistic narration. It is a change as momentous as that effected by Flaubert when he substituted the French *imparfait* – equally a tense for repeated or habitual actions – for the historical past (*passé simple*) that had been customary in literary narratives."[16]

Alter's discussion of tenses is also instructive because he mentions the French tense *passé simple*, yet another example of a tense not used in colloquial language which is nonetheless extremely useful for the structuring of literary texts. As it turns out, the disuse of the Japanese auxiliary verb *-keri*, which explicitly marks the authorial voice, had grave and not necessarily positive effects on the development of the modern Japanese literary language. The author of this article has already discussed this point in another publication and will therefore not dwell on it here.[17]

There was, however, another dimension to the modernization of the Japanese literary language which played a great role in the debate at the time. Unlike the changes in the verb system, it has received less attention in ensuing debates, perhaps because it is considerably more difficult to measure. Hand in hand with archaic verb forms went the use of ornate vocabulary; Ekkehard May calls this "the decorative style" ("Schmuckstil" in German).[18] Once the Japanese writer left the accustomed paths of traditional ornate prose, he had to invent new means of expression. This was not only the case in Japanese, but in any number of languages where the idea of literary realism did not develop at the same time as a flexible written idiom in which to couch it. Thus, Péter Esterházy writes about the Hungarian writer Dezső Kosztalányi:

> "Kosztalányi changed the Hungarian sentence. The Hungarian language anyway stands in a dramatic relationship to the sentence. Our language, as Babits wrote, 'doesn't roll along on such well-worn wheels, doesn't think in place of the writer. It lacks those solid, ready-made phrases, those tiny components of style on which the English or French writer can draw without so much as thinking."[19]

It is instructive that Esterházy takes, as his example, the "mother languages" of literary Realism, "English or French." It can be safely said that the problem he discusses

---

[16] Robert Alter: *The Invention of Hebrew Prose, Modern Fiction and the Language of Realism*. Seattle & London: Univ. of Washington Press,1988, p. 54-55.

[17] Matthew Königsberg: "The 'Transparent Narrator' Revisited, Ozaki Kōyō and *gembun itchi*," *Japanese Language and Literature*, 42, No. 1 (April 2008), p. 197-226.

[18] May: "Konstanten der modernen japanischen Erzähprosa," p. 140.

[19] Péter Esterházy: "Introduction," Dezső Kosztalányi: *Skylark*. Transl. Richard Aczel. Budapest et. al.: Central European University Press, 1999, p. XII.s

existed not only in Hungarian, but also in other languages on the periphery of the movement of Realism, for instance in Russian during the formative fusion of the Russian vernacular with Church Slavonic to produce the modern language of the Russian novel.[20]

In the formative phase of the modern Japanese novel, the "solid, ready-made phrases," the "tiny components of style" came from the long tradition of Chinese or Chinese influenced prose. It was immediately clear to those writers striving for literary modernization that vocabulary from this strata was inappropriate for new literary works. Thus, in one of the many literary debates printed in the journal *Garakuta bunko* (Rubbish Literature), the writers criticize the description of a school:

> "[Kunkeinsei]: Oh, if we are discussing [the story] "The Friends of Elegance," then there is something I would like to say. The description, 'white walls with golden-blue decoration' (*hakuaki kimpeki*), that's no way to talk about the hallway of a school. That sounds like the Asakusa temple. [Complainer]: Yes, but without the pigeons. [The reform writer]. Should I say something about the 'white walls with golden-blue decoration?' That is simply a convention in East Asian poetry, we use grandiose adjectives. I don't find that particularly admirable. The 'white walls' are realistic, but the 'golden-blue decoration ...'"[21]

This dialogue would seem in itself to call for some interpretation. It is the transcription of a conversation among the members of the literary circle known as the "*Ken'yūsha*" or "Friends of the Inkstone." As is readily clear, they sport pseudonyms. The story translated above as "The Friends of Elegance" ("U'u fūfū, kagetsu yū") by one Ka'en Jōshi appeared in *Rubbish Literature*; it was the habit of the young writers in this club to openly discuss and criticize not only such works of their own as had appeared in their journal, but also other works as well.

As has been shown by the arguments in this article up to this point 1) Japanese literary modernization is not a unique process, but is similar to processes found in many other lieratures around the world; 2) the "standard view" of reform in Japanese literature is based on the assumption that Tsubouchi Shōyō's "Essence of the Novel" gave an impetus to Futabatei Shimei's *Drifting Clouds*, which was "Japan's first modern novel;" 3) the classification of Futabatei Shimei's work as the first modern novel in Japan is based on a narrow, virtually mathematical definition of modern language (i.e., whether or not a specific text contains archaic verbs or not); whereas 4) in point of fact the matter is considerably more complex. It must first of all be taken into account - from a comparative perspective - whether

[20] Victor Erlich: *Russian Formalism, History - Doctrine* (= Slavistic Printings and Reprintings, vol. 4). Edit. C. H. van Schooneveld. The Hague et. al.: Mouton & Co., 2nd edition, 1965, p. 236.

[21] "Gaidan kōsetsu," *Garakuta bunko*, 1, No. 11 (16. Jan. 1887), p. 26. Quoted from the reprint edition, *Garakuta bunko, Kappan mibai hon* (= *Ken'yūsha kei zasshi shūsei*, 1). Yumani shobō, 1989, p. 84.

reducing the number of tenses is actually "progress," and in addition, such important questions as the vocabulary to be incorporated into modern prose works must be considered. Robert Alter, discussing the birth of the modern literary language of Hebrew, speaks of "...the novel's generic project of comprehensive realism, of making language effect a sovereign illusion of reality."[22] Obviously, this is a very complex undertaking. If, as has been pointed out above, Japanese literature was reformed very successfully and rapidly, this could hardly have occured via the limited route and along the proscribed perimeters described above. The remainder of this article will thus attempt to offer additional a few brief explanations for the successful moderniziation of Japanese literature, including the "Friends of the Inkstone," one of whose debates has been quoted above.

First of all, it will prove insightful to investigate the actual echo that Tsubouchi Shōyō's "Essence of the Novel" had. This Peter Kornicki does in a chapter of his study *The Reform of Fiction in Meiji Japan*. Kornicki first of all quotes the scholar Ward William Biddle, who called Tsubouchi's work "The Magna Charta [sic] of modern Japanese literature." Kornicki then continues to remark that many other writers concur with this opinion.[23] This high evaluation of the work by later scholars is markedly in contrast to the lack of interest in the work shown by current writers, or, as Kornicki writes: "It is remarkable that there is almost no mention of *Shōsetsu shinzui* [= The Essence of the Novel] in any of the countless newsapapers and magazines being produced by a flourishing publishing industry in the 1880's ..."[24] It would seem that the warm Western embrace for *The Essence of the Novel* is in part a result of its very Western look: it is a scholarly essay which discusses the value of the novel and the best way in which to write one.[25] The journal of the "Friends of the Inkstone," *Rubbish Literature*, engages in virtually no debate whatsoever on *The Essence of the Novel* and thus offers a good example for Kornicki's claim that the work did not appear to draw much attention. The "Friends of the Inkstone" use in their literary debates much of the terminology also used by Tsubouchi, but this may be attributed to the climate of the times, when "interference" from Western literature (as Even-Zohar puts it) was of such importance to all writers.[26] In sum, even if later Western readers are convinced by Tsubouchi Shōyō's effective copy of the Western scholarly essay, this does not necessarily mean that contemporary Japanese writers were equally convinced.

It seems likely instead that other forms of "criticism" also played an important role, including forms that do not necessarily look like criticism at all. Judit Árokay has, for instance, pointed out the role of Japanese critical writing on poetry, which has a century-old tradition. In her view, the discussion of salient features of correct poetry

[22] Robert Alter: *The Invention of Hebrew Prose*, p. 5.
[23] Peter Kornicki: *The Reform of Fiction in Meiji Japan*. London: Ithaca Press, 1982, p. 25.
[24] Kornicki: *Reform*, p. 35.
[25] Königsberg: *Ozaki Kōyō*, p. 162-168.
[26] Königsberg: *Ozaki Kōyō*, p. 163.

had an important impact on depiction in modern Japanese prose.[27] This would constitute a road to literary innovation which has, up to now, received little attention in studies on the subject. A further possible source of impulses for literary reform is the literary journal *Rubbish Literature*, from which the debate on the proper adjective to describe a school has been quoted above. As the brief section quoted above shows, the members of the "Friends of the Inkstone" carried out their literary criticism in the form of a debate, which was then published in their journal. They were, however, not above inventing fictional characters to carry out their debates. This has led James R. Morita to dismiss the entire genre of literary criticism as practiced by the "Friends of the Inkstone":

> "The review section, which is in the form of a free discussion, deals with a novel published by the commercial press. The list of those who took part in the the discussion, however, will justify omitting a study of this section; they are: book lender, half-Westernized student, japanologist, geisha, patriot, tailer, comic, rhetorician, painter, and *gesaku* writer."[28]

An investigation of the conversation shows it to be full of puns and jokes, and the invented characters involved are true to character. This is, however, only one of the two criticisms printed in the volume. The other dispenses with fictive speaker identities and conducts the criticism - again in dialogue form - in a more serious tone between "A" and "B." [29] The dialogue quoted above, which contained an important point about antiquated vocabulary, also uses ficticious names and strange pseudonyms, and yet makes an important point. In other words, the mere form of the criticism is no reason to per se assume that the content is worthless. This is especially true since the critics of the "Friends of the Inkstone" were themselves at the same time writers, who were sincerely attempting to carry out a reform of Japanese literature.

This paper has dealt with the extremely rapid reform of Japanese literature after the initial impact (as the Prague group calls it) with European literatures. As has been shown, both the yardstick usually used for "reform" or "modernization" ("the unity of spoken and written language," reduced to the question of auxiliary verb usage) and the depiction of the way that reform was effected are too one-dimesional to explain such a sweeping and fast process. Examples from other literary languages have shown that the problems faced by Japanese writers after the first contact with the West were not unique; unique is perhaps the simplicity of the explanation offered for the Japanese case. (This simplicity, again in its turn, tends to make the process seem more unique). Further research on various aspects of this period (including the role of the political novel and connections between the *yomihon* of the Edo period and Japanese literary modernization) is to be desired, and can in its turn shed light on reform in literary languages in other places at other times.

---

[27] Judit Árokay: *Die Erneuerung der poetischen Sprache, Poetologische und sprachtheoretische Diskurse der späten Edo-Zeit*, (Reihe Insula Iaponia) München: iudicium, 2010.

[28] James R. Morita: "Garakuta bunko," *Monumenta Nipponica*, 23, No. 3 (Fall 1969), p.228.

[29] "Gaidan kōsetsu," Garakuta bunko, 2, No. 1 (25. Mai 1888), p. 12-13. Quoted from the reprint edition, Garakuta bunko, Kappan kōbai hon (= Ken'yūsha kei zasshi shūsei, 2) Yumani shobō, 1989, p. 12-13.

LITERATURVERZEICHNIS

Árokay, Judit: *Die Erneuerung der poetischen Sprache, Poetologische und sprachtheoretische Diskurse der späten Edo-Zeit* (= Reihe Insula Iaponia) München: iudicium 2010.

Černá, Zlata etl. al.: *Contributions to the Study of the Rise and Development of Modern Literatures in Asia*, vol. 3 (= *Dissertationes Orientales*, 28). Prague: Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, 1970.

Erlich, Victor: *Russian Formalism, History - Doctrine* (= *Slavistic Printings and Reprintings*, vol 4). Edit. C. H. van Schooneveld. The Hague et. al.: Mouton & Co., 2nd edition, 1965.

Esterházy, Péter: "Introduction," Dezső Kosztalányi: *Skylark*. Transl. Richard Aczel. Budapest et. al.: Central European University Press, 1999, p. vii-xv.

Even-Zohar, Itamar: "Laws of Literary Interference," *Poetics Today*, 11, No. 1 (Spring 1990), p. 53-72.

"Gaidan kōsetsu," *Garakuta bunko*, 1, No. 11 (16. Jan. 1887), p. 24-29. Quoted from the reprint edition, *Garakuta bunko, Kappan mibai hon* (= *Ken'yūsha kei zasshi shūsei*, 1) Yumani shobō, 1989, 82-87.

"Gaidan kōsetsu," *Garakuta bunko*, 2, No. 1 (25. Mai 1888), p. 12-13. Quoted from the reprint edition, *Garakuta bunko, Kappan kōbai hon* (= *Ken'yūsha kei zasshi shūsei*, 2) Yumani shobō, 1989, p. 12-13.

Karatani Kōjin: *Origins of Modern Japanese Literature*. Edit. Brett de Bary. Durham: Duke University Press,2nd edition, 1994.

Königsberg, Matthew: "The 'Transparent Narrator' Revisited, Ozaki Kōyō and *gembun itchi*," *Japanese Language and Literature*, 42, No. 1 (April 2008), p. 197-226.

Ozaki Kōyō (1867-1903), Literarisches Schaffen zwischen Tradition und Moderne. Hamburg: Gesellschaft für Natur und Völkerkunde Ostasiens e.V. (= MOAG 146), 2008.

Kornicki, Peter: *The Reform of Fiction in Meiji Japan*. London: Ithaca Press, 1982.

Kràl, Oldřich et. al.: *Contributions to the Study of the Rise and Develpment of Modern Literatures in Asia*, vol. 2. (= *Dissertationes Orientales*, 15) Prague: Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, 1968.

May, Ekkehard: "Konstanten der modernen japanischen Erzähprosa und ihr Verhältnis zur literarischen Tradition," *Bochumer Jahrbuch zur Ostasienforschung*, 4 (1981), p. 130-143.

Morita, James R.: "Garakuta bunko," *Monumenta Nipponica*, 23, No. 3 (Fall 1969), p. 219-233.

Nakagawa Shojūrō, "'Iratsume' to gembun itchi," *Bimyō senshū*, Edit. Yanagida Izumi, Kyōto: Ritsumeikan shuppan bu, 1935, p. 1-54.

Woodhull, Alan S.: *Romantic Edo Fiction: A Study of the Ninjobon and Complete Translation of the "Shunshoku umegoyomi."* Dissertation, Stanford Univ., 1978. Ann Arbor: University Microfilms.

Yamamoto Masahide: *Gembun itchi no rekishi ronkō*, Ōfūsha, 1978.

STUDIA UBB PHILOLOGIA, LVIII, 1, 2013, p. 67 - 82
(RECOMMENDED CITATION)

L'INTERTEXTUALITÉ EN TANT QU'INDICE POLYPHONIQUE: MORI ŌGAI, *SEINEN* (*LE JEUNE HOMME*), 1910

RODICA FRENȚIU[1]

ABSTRACT. ***L'intertextualité en tant qu'indice polyphonique: Mori Ōgai, Seinen (Le jeune homme), 1910 / Intertextuality as an Index of Polyphony: Mori Ōgai's Seinen (Youth), 1910***. Considering Mori Ōgai's novel *Seinen* as the writing of an intellectual "adventure" and, simultaneously, as the "adventure" of a writing oriented towards self-representation, this study proposes an analysis from the perspective of the functions of intertextuality, manifested not only at the level of the poetic language and the creation of meaning, but also at that of its reception. The study also seeks to demonstrate that in the aforementioned writing, intertextuality triggers the narrative function, which consists of two movements: one given by the writing of a text that exists at the intersection with other texts and another one which builds the subject of the narrative by invoking ideas rather than actions.

Keywords: intertextuality, polyphonic novel, individualism, freedom

REZUMAT. ***Intertextualitatea ca indice polifonic: Mori Ōgai, Seinen (Tânărul), 1910***. Considerând romanul lui Mori Ōgai *Seinen* scriitura unei „aventuri" intelectuale şi, concomitent, „aventura" unei scrieturi orientate spre auto-reprezentare, studiul de față își propune o analiză din perspectiva funcțiilor intertextualității manifestate nu numai la nivelul limbajului poetic şi al creației de sens, ci şi la cel al receptării. De asemenea, încearcă să demonstreze că, în scriitura menționată, intertextualitatea declanşează funcția narativă, constituită din două mişcări: una dată de scrierea unui text aflat la intersecția cu alte texte şi o alta care construieşte subiectul narațiunii invocând mai degrabă idei decât acțiune.

Cuvinte cheie: intertextualitate, roman polifonic, individualism, libertate

On n'est chez soi, on n'est à l'abri des caprices du hasard,
on n'est heureux et fort que dans l'enceinte de sa conscience.
Maurice Maeterlinck*, La sagesse et la destinée*

Considéré comme une personnalité proéminente de la période Meiji (1868-1912), par son activité d'homme de science, écrivain et journaliste, Mori Ōgai a apporté une contribution essentielle à la fondation du Japon contemporain.

[1] Rodica Frentiu is Associate Professor at Babes-Bolyai University (Cluj-Napoca, Romania), Faculty of Letters, Department of Asian Studies (Director). Main fields of research: Japanese Poetics, Cultural Semiotics, Japanese Calligraphy. E-mail: rfrentiu@hotmail.com

Enfant précoce, Mori Rintarō est entré dans la mémoire de la postérité sous le nom de Mori Ōgai (1862-1922). A cinq ans il déchiffre Confucius, devenant très vite un connaisseur du chinois classique. Ensuite, il étudie le néerlandais et à l'âge de dix ans, il part pour Tokyo, où il consacre quelques années à l'étude de la langue allemande. A un âge très tendre, il achève ses études à l'École de Médecine de Tokyo, à dix-neuf ans il devient médecin et il est enrôlé dans le Corps Médical de l'Armée. La même année, il se voit confier la tâche d'étudier le système administratif médical de la Prusse et, trois ans plus tard, il présente un document impressionnant, en douze volumes, au Ministère de la Guerre. De 1884 à 1888, il étudie la médecine à Leipzig et Berlin et, à cette occasion, il visite la France et l'Angleterre. De retour au Japon, il est nommé professeur à l'École de Médecine militaire, une carrière en ascension qui l'amène, à l'âge de quarante trois ans, à occuper le poste de Médecin Inspecteur Général, la plus haute fonction de la hiérarchie médicale nippone. En 1917 il est nommé intendant du Musée Impérial d'Art et assume la fonction de président de la Commission Provisoire de la langue japonaise.

L'époque où Mori Ōgai est actif commence avec la promulgation de la Constitution Impériale de 1889 ce qui marque, en fait, la fin de la réforme du système politique initiée par la Restauration de Meiji. Dans un certain sens, la réforme dans les domaines de la technologie et de la culture continue l'héritage culturel de la période précédente, le shogunat Tokugawa, étant cependant tantôt en *conflit*, tantôt en *synthèse* avec la culture moderne de l'Occident avec laquelle il commençait à se mettre en contact. Mori Ōgai vit lui-même cette tension et essaie en permanence, d'une manière « raffinée », une combinaison des deux tendances : garder la tradition et l'assimilation de l'influence occidentale. Dès son retour d'Europe, pendant une période qui s'étale sur trente années, Mori Ōgai s'avère être préoccupé, de manière constante, par tous les grands problèmes de la culture japonaise, étant considéré comme « une vraie personnification de son époque » (Katō 1998: 732). Homme énergique, exubérant, doué d'une énorme capacité de travail, Mori Ōgai a développé, en fait, une double carrière : celle de médecin et celle d'écrivain. Les années passées à l'étranger ont représenté, pour l'homme de science et l'humaniste japonais, non seulement la rencontre et la confrontation avec les valeurs d'une autre civilisation, mais aussi, d'une manière étonnante, la *redécouverte* de sa propre culture, en quelque sorte.

Mori Ōgai, écrivain, esthéticien, linguiste et traducteur, comparé au Japon avec Balzac, est reconnu, tout d'abord, comme étant un vrai créateur du « roman du moi » (*watakushi shōsetsu*), inspiré du roman autobiographique européen du XIXe siècle. Il a écrit plus de vingt romans, en évoluant d'une littérature d'inspiration romantique, en passant par l'expérience idéaliste, vers un réalisme objectif, n'excluant ni l'intellectualisme, ni la capacité de motivation psychologique des actions de ses personnages, son œuvre contribuant de manière importante à la modernisation de la littérature japonaise.

En tant qu'écrivain, il débute avec le roman de facture romantique *Maihime (La danseuse)* [1890-1891], revenant dans l'arène littéraire, vingt ans après, avec de nombreuses nouvelles, comme, par exemple *Hannichi (Demi-journée)* [1909], *Fushinchū (En travaux)* [1910], *Hanako* [1910], *Mōsō (Chimères)* [1911] ou *Ka no yō ni (Comme si)* [1912] et trois romans*: Vita sexualis* [1909], *Seinen (Le jeune homme*) [1910-1911] et *Gan (L'Oie sauvage)* [1911-1915].

Le roman *Maihime* est un texte autobiographique relatant l'histoire d'amour entre un étudiant japonais et une danseuse allemande, alors que la nouvelle *Fushinchū* raconte la rencontre, dans un restaurant de Tokyo, entre une Allemande et un Japonais qui s'étaient connus en Allemagne, un nouveau prétexte pour l'écrivain nippon de confronter les deux cultures. En invoquant la visite de la danseuse Hanako dans l'atelier du maître, *Hanako* soulève le problème de la condition de l'artiste, et *Ka no yō ni* offre une approche philosophique du problème des principes gouvernant la vie, présentant un individu qui vit *comme si* les principes de la religion, de la science et de la philosophie étaient vrais, bien qu'ils ne soient vérifiables de manière empirique.

L'attitude de Mori Ōgai envers le courant naturaliste, en vogue à ce moment-là dans les cercles littéraires japonais, pareille à celle de l'autre géant de la période, Natsume Sōseki (1867-1916), en est une d'opposition à la subordination de la raison et de l'intelligence promue par la philosophie déterministe du naturalisme. Après le roman *Vita sexualis*, publié dans la revue *Subaru* en 1909, ce qui a déclenché une forte réaction de la part de la censure qui justifiait l'interdiction de l'apparition de la publication par l'effet nuisible que ce roman aurait sur le moral public (voir Hopper 1974: 387), dans *Seinen (Le jeune homme),* Mori Ōgai exprime son point de vue de manière transparente ; selon lui, l'homme est à la fois corps et âme et il ne saurait être compris qu'en réunissant ses deux dimensions, le biologique et le spirituel. Mais le roman considéré le chef d'œuvre de l'écrivain japonais et à travers lequel le roman psychologique est introduit dans la littérature japonaise, c'est *Gan (L'Oie sauvage),* l'histoire d'une jeune fille se trouvant à la portée d'un sort défavorable. Mori Ōgai saisit cette occasion pour soumettre à l'attention la problématique de la narrativité et de la fiction, comme il le fait d'ailleurs dans tous ses écrits. Les trois romans mentionnés : *Vita sexualis, Seinen* et *Gan* évoquent l'atmosphère des milieux universitaires et intellectuels pendant la période Meiji, sans qu'il y ait cependant une succession chronologique pour qu'ils puissent être considérés une trilogie. Comme ils traitent un sujet commun, abordé de différents angles narratifs, l'histoire littéraire *japonaise les* a tous classés sous le signe *Bildungsroman* ou le roman de formation du moi. (voir Tschudin 2006: 246).

Mais, de manière surprenante, après l'apparition du roman *Gan*, Mori Ōgai finit par définir la fiction littéraire comme *uso* ('mensonge') et l'abandonne définitivement, pour se réorienter vers les romans historiques, tels *Okitsu Yagoemon no isho* (*Le Testament d'Okitsu Yagoemon*, 1912), *Abe ichizoku* (*Le Clan Abe*, 1913),

Sanshō Dayū (*L'Intendant Sanshō*, 1915) ou les biographies de certains médecins ou érudits de la période Edo (1603-1868), dont les plus connues seraient *Shibue Chūsai* (1916), *Suginohara Shina* (1916) et *Izawa Ranken* (1916-1917).

Sur la création de Mori Ōgai la critique de spécialité affirme que l'auteur exprimerait la leçon de rhétorique apprise de la littérature européenne, dans sa tentative de développer un idiome japonais pour elle (cf. Snyder: 356). En tant que journaliste, polémiste et traducteur, Mori Ōgai toujours été très bien informé sur les actualités culturelles, scientifiques et politiques de l'Europe, réalité qu'il a fait connaître au public japonais par la traduction de 67 auteurs en 97 volumes, depuis les langues allemande, française et anglaise. Dans ce sens, il a publié des recueils de poésie (1889), dans lesquels il a réuni Byron, Goethe, Heine et Shakespeare, pour que, de 1889 à 1915, il traduise non seulement les classiques de la littérature mondiale, mais aussi des écrivains en vogue à ce moment-là : Hoffmann, Kleist, Rilke, Anderson, Alphonse Daudet, Anatole France, Flaubert, Verhaeren, Edgar Poe, Gorki, Dostoïevski, Tolstoï, Lermontov, Tourgueniev, D'Annuzio, Rousseau, Ibsen, Strindberg, Hauptmann, Maeterlinck, G. B. Shaw, Oscar Wilde, Calderon de la Barca, Lessing (voir Tschudin 2006: 244-5). Autrement dire, toute l'activité journalistique, esseistique et littéraire de l'homme de lettres Mori Ōgai, ainsi que ses options pour des traductions, ne font que reconnaître sa lutte déterminée et constante en faveur de la liberté intellectuelle, en dépit d'une société se trouvant encore sous l'autorité du contrôle, oppressive par endroits, du gouvernement Meiji.

Publié en feuilleton entre mars 1910 et août 1911 et repris en volume en 1913, le roman *Seinen* (*Le jeune homme*) a pour intrigue la prise de maturité, sous divers aspects, du jeune Koizumi Junichi (dont le nom se traduirait par 'Petite source'+ 'Pure'), arrivé de sa province dans la capitale, ayant comme désir de devenir écrivain. Ayant quitté son pays natal avec l'espoir d'étudier sous la direction d'Ōishi Kentarō, nom fictif derrière lequel se cache l'écrivain naturaliste Masamune Hakuchō (1879-1962), après quelques rencontres, le jeune perd toutes ses illusions et se rend compte du fait qu'il doit assumer son propre destin littéraire. Il commence à se poser des questions sur la façon dont une histoire devrait être racontée, sur la relation entre la création littéraire et les expériences personnelles, étant préoccupé de savoir dans quelle mesure un texte littéraire devient ou devrait devenir un témoignage de soi et de l'auto-connaissance et non pas en dernier lieu, étant intéressé par la modalité appropriée d'expression, par le langage qui lui permettrait la représentation de l'expérience immédiate, quelle que soit sa nature, physique ou intellectuelle. Mais ses quêtes de la forme narrative, du rapport entre le réel et l'imaginaire, ses réserves concernant la réussite de la représentation de la réalité à travers la fiction, la difficulté du choix entre l'action et l'observation détachée (cf. Snyder 1994: 355) vont finir par orienter Junichi vers les vieilles légendes de son pays natal qu'il veut ramener dans la réalité contemporaine, poussé par le souci de reformuler les mythes nationaux sous l'appellation « histoire » (cf. Hopper 1974: 409):

> « Ce que Junichi avait l'intention d'écrire était d'une orientation quelque peu différente de ce qui était en vogue alors. Il s'agissait en effet de légendes que son autre grand-mère, qui était morte, lui avait racontées. Il avait plusieurs fois déjà élaboré le projet d'en faire le *sujet* d'un livre. Il avait réfléchi à la forme à donner à son texte, tantôt penchant pour le conte, tantôt pour une narration en prose, tantôt décidant de puiser des éléments dans les *Trois Contes* de Flaubert, ou de s'inspirer de courtes pièces de Maeterlinck. La dernière tentative qu'il avait faite peu de temps avant son départ pour Tokyo était demeurée sous forme d'ébauche, une trentaine de feuillets, restés au fond d'une valise dans la maison de Yanaka. » (Mori Ōgai 2006: 232)

Le roman *Seinen* a connu, au fil du temps, différentes interprétations, à partir des appréciations sur l'échec du roman dû aux descriptions en excès, jusqu'à sa réévaluation en tant que réussite dans l'adaptation d'un *bildungsroman* dans la littérature japonaise (voir O'Neill 2006: 302). La découverte par Junichi de la capitale, un espace aux nombreuses contradictions internes, déclenchées par le côtoiement du vieux et du neuf et la participation de celui-ci aux débats lors des cénacles littéraires, amènent au premier plan de nombreuses personnalités du présent, aux masques extrêmement transparents : Natsume Sōseki, Masamune Hakuchō, Kinoshita Mokutarō, voire Mori Ōgai-même. Ainsi, la datation du moment de l'action du roman *Seinem* devient évidente, c'est l'intervalle de temps compris dans le texte recouvrant la durée des trois derniers mois de l'année 1909. Un narrateur extradiégétique et un personnage de vingt ans, Koizumi Junichi, se prêtent l'un à l'autre les pensées, en créant une intéressante rencontre temporelle. La voix narrative omnisciente se dissout, de temps à autre, dans les monologues du héros principal, dans ses dialogues avec les autres personnages et dans les fragments de journal rédigés à la première personne (chapitres X et XV), étant créé de la sorte un cadre diégétique nécessaire pour raconter une histoire dans une histoire. La structure narrative de *Seinen*, optant pour la formule de la voix auctoriale à la troisième personne combinée avec la première personne, consiste donc en de courts passages à la première personne, sous forme de citations du protagoniste principal, tressés dans une narration à la troisième personne, construite sur le modèle de la fiction européenne du XIXe siècle. Cette voix impersonnelle décrit des événements, relate des discours et connecte les pensées intimes des personnages (voir Snyder 1994 :359), ce qui réalise la transition du personnel vers l'impersonnel.

Cependant, ce qui attire l'attention dans ce roman n'est pas tellement la prise de distance du narrateur, de la voix auctoriale à la troisième personne, rendant le personnage contemporain avec le roman en train d'être écrit, mais la variété des lectures de Junichi, fréquemment citées par le narrateur. Le texte devient ainsi chargé de citations, de commentaires et de réflexions des protagonistes sur diverses

œuvres, à partir des sutras bouddhistes jusqu'à St. Augustin, Schopenhauer et Nietzsche. Les noms classiques de la littérature française, tels: Corneille, Racine, Molière, Hugo, ne manquent pas d'être mentionnés, non plus les noms représentatifs du moment dans la littérature universelle et japonaise, parmi lesquels on pourrait citer Zola, Flaubert, Maupassant, Paul Hesse, Ibsen, Verhaeren, Lemonnier, Maeterlinck, Tayama Katai, Morita Sōhei et Kosugi Tengai.

Le roman *Seinen* se présente donc comme un texte qui s'écrit à l'aide d'autres textes et les renvois intertextuels semblent soumettre l'attention, en subsidiaire, à un débat focalisé sur la question si l'on peut devenir moderne sans refuser les valeurs traditionnelles. Le procédé de l'intertextualité auquel a eu recours la voix narrative vient montrer les limites de la question, ainsi que son ouverture. Par le jeu intertextuel, les parties d'un espace qui semblait fermé s'ouvrent sans cesse devant le narrateur, et les fragments deviennent les composantes d'un tout dont le centre, soustrait à l'obligativité de choisir une réponse entre deux alternatives (le nouveau ou l'ancien, la modernité ou la tradition), se présente comme étant vide, un renvoi indirect vers l'apophatisme du bouddhisme Zen. A la différence du fondement rationnel de la pensée occidentale promouvant la violence du dualisme (cf. Mazzotta 1992: 188), l'univers cartésien de la discontinuité, ce centre vide du bouddhisme Zen, identifiable dans le roman aussi, d'où le protagoniste principal semble extraire, à la fin, la force de sa liberté, rend possible la récupération non seulement de la continuité spatio-temporelle, mais aussi de la fluidité du cosmos, de la vie :

> « [...] Ōgai had revolutionized the Japanese language and created a ‚modern' novel that deployed a ‚thorougly reconstituted perspectival configuration, centralized around a vanishing point.' » (Snyder 1994: 372)

Dans l'espace de l'écriture, plusieurs textes se croisent et se neutralisent, et le sens ouvert, illimité, ne se soumettra plus à l'astreinte d'un choix inévitable. Si, de par le temps qui court, il n'est plus possible de faire un choix tranchant pour la tradition ou pour la modernité, s'il n'en est pas seulement ainsi ou autrement, le sens du roman entre dans le mouvement de la spirale et le fragment peut être confronté en permanence avec l'ensemble. Mais ce mouvement a pour conséquence l'activation de toutes les personnes : la Ière personne c'est le moi qui se confesse dans le journal de Junichi, la IIIème personne c'est la marque de la présence du narrateur extradiégétique et des références intertextuelles, alors que la IIème personne est signalée par la présence du lecteur auquel s'adressent les deux autres personnes. De la sorte, le texte narratif, tout en renonçant aux privilèges d'une personne grammaticale, s'est transformé en une écriture qui ne devrait pas être prise pour une structure déjà constituée, mais plutôt comme une « structuration » (Kristeva 1980: 252) produisant le sens, alors que l'écrit se rédige devant le lecteur. Les lois du montage et du mécanisme qui poursuivent la réalisation d'une écriture constitueront les deux paliers du roman *Seinen :* d'une part, le texte ou le produit fini et, d'autre part, l'écriture ou le texte en processus, ce qui s'écrit devant le

lecteur. Il en est résulté un roman combinant divers codes dans sa structuration, à savoir celui du roman de type shishōsetsu japonais avec celui occidental de type romantique et naturaliste, l'intertextualité constituant le principal lien entre eux. L'intertextualité devient la voix de la transformation d'une structure narrative, insistant non seulement sur sa propre réflexion à l'intérieur d'un univers en mouvement, mais aussi sur la façon dont cette réflexion s'est réalisée. Par l'ensemble ambivalent créé, marqué par le phénomène de la double réflexion, l'intertextualité engendre la fonction de pont reliant des époques, cultures et civilisations, au niveau esthétique et idéologique. Ensuite, l'intertextualité devient également une preuve claire de la transformation de ce texte, à son tour, dans une partie composante du texte global que constituerait la littérature japonaise et, au niveau suivant, la littérature du monde.

Il a été démontré également (voir Cominetti 2008), à ce niveau intertextuel, la ressemblance entre *Seinen* et le roman de Huysmans *Là-bas,* par les effets de parallélisme entre les divers personnages des deux romans, étant proposée même une lecture du texte japonais à travers le texte français. Mais la tentative de Mori Ōgai d'*imiter* un modèle pourrait donner lieu à l'interprétation que, plutôt qu'un simple acte de plagiat, l'écrivain japonais aurait envisagé une « transformation » (cf. Genette 1982 :13) du modèle, « transformation » vue comme un procédé complexe dans le cadre des relations transtextuelles, ce qui pourrait être caractérisé, en final, comme un aspect universel de la « littérarité » (cf. Genette 1982: 15) :

> « […] il n'est pas d'œuvre littéraire qui, à quelque degré et selon les lectures, n'en évoque quelque autre... » (Genette 1982:16)

Dans le texte qui s'écrit devant le lecteur, le narrateur extradiégetique fait d'un volume de Racine le lien entre Junichi et madame Sakai, la veuve énigmatique qui offre au jeune dépourvu de l'expérience de la vie, la possibilité d'en devenir un autre, en lui créant, par les états contradictoires provoqués, des conditions favorables pour qu'il explore son soi. De la même manière, l'interaction textuelle offerte par l'intertextualité non seulement va engendrer un nouveau texte, différent du modèle, mais va devenir le lien entre les textes invoqués, par le dialogue proposé, en créant une ouverture au sens de l'écriture de par l'intérieur. La fonction de l'opération intertextuelle propose la relecture des textes mentionnés, leur approfondissement. C'est l'intertextualité qui produit ici le sens, obtenu suite à une pratique qui implique, de manière prioritaire, des relations inconscientes, subjectives, sociales. L'intertextualité intervient en tant qu'ouverture vers les limites du signifiable désignées par les mots « liberté » et « individualisme ». C'est ainsi qu'il est motivée, dans l'économie de l'écriture, la nécessité de la participation de Junichi à une conférence donnée par le savant Fuseki, sous le masque duquel se cache en fait Natsume Sōseki et la conférence que celui-ci a donnée réellement. Cette conférence parle du concept d' « individualsme » chez Ibsen, suggérant comment devrait être le profile de « l'homme nouveau » :

> « - C'est une face du moi d'Ibsen, la face *mondaine*, qui s'exprime de façon poétique dans *Peer Gynt*, sembla-t-il conclure, pour reprendre en affirmant qu'Ibsen en avait une autre dès le départ. Si cet autre moi n'avait pas existé, Ibsen n'aurait fait prôner de libertinage. Mais Ibsen n'est pas un tel personnage. Il a par ailleurs un moi *supramondain*, qui le conduit à vouloir perpétuellement s'élever. C'est cette face intransigeante qui éclate dans son drame *Brand.* Pourquoi Ibsen cherche-t-il à rompre les liens corrompus des coutumes ? Ce n'est pas dans le but de conquérir la liberté pour se complaire dans la fange. Non, il veut s'élever haut et loin dans le ciel, fendre le vent de ses ailes puissantes. » (Mori Ōgai 2006: 54)

Plus tard, Junichi et Ōmura, l'étudiant en médecine connu par Junichi lors de la conférence respective et dès lors devenu son ami, vont reprendre la problématique de « l'homme nouveau », en prolongement de la conclusion de la conférence du professeur Fuseki. Si l'individualisme semble avoir deux branches : l'égoïsme et l'altruisme, la première étant la voie proposée par Fuseki, sur les traces d'Ibsen, à Ōmura, cette branche semble dépourvue de vie, voire lâche, ce qui l'amène à opter pour la deuxième. Parmi les arguments invoqués par Ōmura contre l'égoïsme, il serait bon de citer l'impossibilité de trouver la paix intérieure, ce qui, d'ailleurs, est arrivé à l'individu en quête de l'oiseau bleu du bonheur dans la pièce de Materlinck. Un autre argument en serait, et non pas en dernier lieu, la conviction que, sans altruisme ce serait l'anarchie. Selon Ōmura, un individu altruiste, dont la nature est, simultanément, apollinienne et dionysiaque, vit pleinement sa vie de chaque jour et donne un sens à toute chose. Mais, conclura-t-il, « individualisme » et « liberté » doivent rester superposés, du moins au Japon, sur la signification des concepts de « loyauté » et « auto-sacrifice », plutôt que de connaître la transformation dans l'utilitarisme égoïste promu par Nietzsche et Ibsen :

> « - L'individualisme à tendance altruiste, c'est autre chose. Tout en défendant sans compromis la primauté du moi, il donne un sens à tous les êtres et les choses de l'existence. » (Mori Ōgai 2006: 181)
>
> « - D'ailleurs, cela me rappelle la thèse que proposait un érudit, son nom m'échappe, qui écrivait que l'individualisme est une idéologie de l'Occident, qui est incapable de faire le sacrifice du moi. En Orient, cette idéologie devient le ‚familialisme', qui se transforme en nationalisme. Il explique qu'il devient alors possible de donner sa vie pour son seigneur ou son père. Mais cette thèse assimile l'individualisme à l'égoïsme ... » (Mori Ōgai 2006: 182)

Les promenades de Junichi avec l'étudiant en médecine Ōmura donnent lieu aux discussions et aux débats sur des sujets littéraires, philosophiques et moraux, dont immergent les lectures que font les jeunes d'Ibsen, Materlinck, Nietzsche. Mais leur manière de comprendre le système de valeurs proposé par la

littérature et la philosophie occidentales, discuté par rapport à leurs propres valeurs traditionnelles, ainsi que le courage d'en parler ouvertement, sont, en grande mesure, l'apanage de la jeunesse :

> « - C'est sans doute le privilège des jeunes gens que de pouvoir ainsi dire ce qu'on pense sans avoir à peser chaque mot ! » (Mori Ōgai 2006: 184)

Le corolaire sous lequel pourraient être placés les dialogues libres portés par les deux jeunes serait en rapport avec l'unicité du Japon et avec la façon dont ce pays, conscient des définitions données à la liberté par l'Occident, devrait agir pour redéfinir les concepts de « liberté » et « individualisme » sur son propre territoire, en partant de la base offerte par les valeurs du passé adaptées au présent moderne (cf. Hopper 1974: 391) . Or, toutes ces discussions, ainsi que les monologues de Junichi font que, par un mouvement complémentaire, celui qui aspire à la condition d'écrivain (lire « créateur ») devient ce qui porterait le nom de « critique ». Une conscience de la parole en a tant le critique, que l'écrivain, et Junichi se voit portraitisé par le narrateur dans les deux hypostases, puisque les deux conditions sont reliées par « parler ». On dit que la réalité est celle dont-on-parle (cf. Heimonet 1992: 151), mais le final de l'écriture, dans lequel transparait la décision de Junichi de tourner son attention, dans sa création littéraire, vers le passé, puisque l'éternité ne peut être que remémorée, va l'hypostasier à jamais dans sa condition d'écrivain. Celui-ci, à la différence du critique, conjugue le verbe « écrire » en tant que dérivé naturel de « parler » et « être ». Or, pour ce faire, l'écrivain recourt à la zone de l'expérience intérieure, où la vérité ultime de la parole se voit remise en cause. La crise de la foi demande impérieusement un débat sérieux sur le thème de la relation entre parler et le fait d'exister. Junichi, le partisan d'une pensée de type occidental, se montre attiré, en final, par la classique conception traditionaliste japonaise concernant « être », devenant conscient que la tentative de comprendre le monde signifie, tout d'abord, la compréhension de son propre soi. Avec un mélange d'ironie et d'humour, sur un ton mélancolique, Junichi, dans une attitude voulue de *nihil admirari*, essaie de s'approprier, dans une acception propre, les concepts d' « éthique » et de « morale », ainsi que la catégorie du « religieux », pour accéder à un ego transcendantal. Il essaie l'autocritique et l'auto-connaissance afin d'atteindre la vraie humilité :

> « Le sentiment d'abandon. Était-ce vraiment ce sentiment qui l'avait conduit à Hakone? La *solitude*? Non, ce n'était pas cela. Malheureusement, il s'agissait d'autre chose. Pour parler comme Nietzsche, être *eisam* ne lui faisait pas peur, mais c'est être *zweinsam* qu'il désirait. Si encore l'amour l'avait fait agir, il aurait pu plaider sa défense. Or Junichi n'aimait pas Mme Sakai. Si on l'avait poussé dans ses derniers retranchements, il aurait été obligé de convenir que ce qui le motivait n'était rien d'autre qu'une pulsion animale. On aurait beau faire, rien ne pouvait plaider pour sa défense ou embellir son geste. » (Mori Ōgai 2006: 198)

La pratique de la fiction devient ainsi une « expérience » (Baudry 1980: 239), comprise, en premier lieu, comme une expérience physique qui va être filtrée par le prisme de la subjectivité avant d'être mise sur papier. L'écriture signifie collaboration entre rationnel et irrationnel, entre chaos et ordre, entre silence et solitude. Des suggestions de méditation telles les relations interhumaines, les relations entre homme et femme, la relation entre individu et sa mission, le problème de la liberté humaine, l'accès à la réalité, la subordination du plaisir à des valeurs d'ordre moral, le salut de la société japonaise, tracent le contour de la sphère des réflexions problématisées dans le roman *Seinen*, tissées sur une toile aux nombreux nœuds de croisement, où la parole et le langage permettent, en qualité d'instruments, non seulement l'expression de l'expérience ou de la pensée, mais aussi la représentation du monde (cf. Ricardou 1980: 127). Les questions qui naissent dans la conscience du protagoniste principal sont nombreuses, aux réponses difficiles, comme pour rappeler les écrivains ayant écrit uniquement pour avoir lu. Mais la conciliation de l'occidentalisation avec la tradition (cf. Tschudin 2006: 253), de l'individualisme avec la loyauté, de l'amour avec le mariage par obligation, de la liberté intellectuelle avec la sauvegarde des valeurs morales semblent devenir inacceptables aussi longtemps que, inconsciemment, en l'écrivain vit seul le code de la langue assurant la domination idéologique.

Pensé et élaboré en tant que texte polyphonique (voir Cominetti 2008: 119), le roman *Seinen* offre, par le procédé de l'intertextualité, différents niveaux possibles de lecture. L'écriture qui naît sous les yeux du lecteur soumet à l'attention de celui-ci le processus de la création, où ce sera à travers la pratique même (voir Kristeva 1980: 314) que l'écriture dévoilera son sens ultime. Comme la problématique centrale du roman gravite autour du livre, l'écriture qui se fait devant le lecteur semble activer les fonctions du livre, telles qu'elles ont été vues au Moyen Age occidental (cf. Barthes 1980: 176). Par le procédé intertextuel, le narrateur extra diégétique et Junichi, des facettes différentes de la même hypostase de créateur, se transforment d'une part en scripteur recopiant sans rien ajouter, mais devenant en outre le commentateur intervenant dans le texte recopié afin de le rendre intelligible, d'autre part en auteur affirmant ses propres idées.

La littérature de spécialité a déjà démontré à maintes reprises que l'acte d'écrire est, en fin de compte, une auto-analyse, une quête des règles du langage littéraire, où le langage n'est pas seulement objet d'étude, mais aussi pratique et connaissance analytique, à travers laquelle le sujet connaît et organise le réel. La littérature devient langage, elle se pratique comme une recherche sur les propres lois qui la gouvernent (cf. Kristeva 1981: 290), et l'exploration suppose plusieurs niveaux, combinant la structure narrative avec celles phonétique, sémantique et syntactique de la langue, afin d'acquérir le sens ultime :

> « On comprend alors que c'est dans le langage dit poétique, et par extension dans les arts, que s'effectue au maximum la complexité du

> procès de la significance, puisqu'il y atteint non seulement les contenus, les idéologies et les structures narratives, mais jusqu'au système de la langue (par les rythmes et les allitérations, par exemple, dans la poésie classique; par les modifications phoniques, lexicales et syntaxiques dans les textes modernes). » (Kristeva 1975: 17-18)

De la sorte, l'image d'une langue particulière se voit confronter avec celle proposée par un texte littéraire, en tant que type particulier de « langage » (cf. Kristeva 1981: 291). Ainsi, la proposition du narrateur extradiégétique du roman *Seinen* est presqu'une sorte de « révolution » du langage poétique. Dans ce roman, il est tenu compte non seulement du fonctionnement, mais aussi de la production d'un texte littéraire. Par la suite, aucune description n'est isolée, aucun renvoi intertextuel n'est gratuit, et tout est destiné ou bien à tracer le contour du profile des personnages, ou bien à la configuration de l'intrigue, « le langage descriptif» (O'Neill 2006: 296), par exemple, est utilisé par le narrateur dans le contexte du traitement naturaliste de l'espace, étant celui de représenter la vie telle qu'elle :

> « In the novel, urban spaces no longer serve as inert settings, but rather occupy a central role in creating a new language of representation, proffering new possibilities of aesthetic reflection. » (O'Neill 2006: 311)

Mais le roman *Seinen* est, en fait, l'écriture d'une « aventure » intellectuelle, tout comme il est, simultanément, « l'aventure » d'une écriture orientée vers l'auto-représentation. Le monde n'est pas un acte de possession, mais un acte de contemplation, semble suggérer le narrateur de *Seinen,* dans une tentative de combiner le concept néo-idéalistique promu en ce temps-là par l'Occident avec le code *bushi* et le confucianisme japonais, par l'intermédiaire de la littérature. En outre, à l'aide du langage poétique, l'information logique et rationnelle offerte par les sciences naturelles invoquées dans le texte s'harmonise naturellement avec les caractéristiques spirituelles et idéales de la créativité instinctive (cf. Hopper 1974: 405).

La réalité a été remplacée par le texte, fait prouvé dans le roman de Mori Ōgai non seulement par de nombreux renvois intertextuels, mais aussi par la forme sous laquelle elles se présentent. Bien que le japonais contient le sylabar *katakana*, permettant l'adaptation phonétique et graphique de tous les emprunts lexicaux à des langues étrangères, que ce soit des noms propres ou communs, dans le roman *Seinen* le narrateur sent le besoin d'orthographier les emprunts dans la langue d'origine ; ainsi, les plus de 150 insertions de mots ou expressions orthographiés en alphabet latin se font vite remarquer. Vu le fait que la langue japonaise écrite utilise le système des pictogrammes/idéogrammes chinois (manière synthétique d'écrite, qui représente des images et transmet à la fois une « conceptualisation » (cf. Kristeva 1981: 32)), ainsi que le sylabar phonétique *hiragana*, qui en dérive, le mélange d'écriture pictographique /idéographique avec celle phonétique (alphabétique) fait du roman qui s'écrit devant le lecteur un texte plein de significations, dans lequel la tradition semble venir au rendez-vous avec la mentalité et la civilisation occidentales.

Dans le roman *Seinen,* l'image graphique des emprunts aux langues étrangères, accompagnée par celle sonore, les deux étant étrangères au graphisme et à la phonologie de la langue japonaise, surprennent très fort le lecteur, et le sens créé est, en quelque sorte, la conséquence d'un conflit.

On sait bien que « écrire » est un rituel gouverné par des règles mettant en jeu de nombreuses stratégies de construction du sens, tant au niveau conscient, qu'au niveau subconscient, rappelant à l'homme son éternelle dimension « narrative » :

> « Play, imagination, narrativity – these are constitutive and basic features of any human condition no less than sexuality, hunger, fear, the search of power, or the need for transcendence. Narrative play intervenes in each of these, shaping (un)consciously these inchoate substantial contents of human existance. One way of looking at literature is to regard as ‚theologia ludens' – God-science at play – the sweetly palatable mode of dealing with ultimate existential interrogations. » (Nemoianu, Royal 1992: 14)

Conscient en quelque sorte de la dévalorisation « de la littérature », le narrateur du roman *Seinen* ramène au premier plan l'écriture, autrement dire, un texte vu dans le processus de sa création, et les deux insertions de journal, où Junichi se présente, simultanément, en tant que témoin et analyste de ses propres expériences, semble apprendre au lecteur à parler une deuxième langue, dans laquelle seule la valorisation de toute l'information reçue peut conduire au sens :

> « Suis-je incapable de mener une existence authentique? Suis-je comme une herbe poussant dans le marais de la décadence, une herbe flottante, tout juste capable de donner naissance à une fleur aussi pâle qu'un rêve? » (Ōgai 2006: 89)

Convaincu de la nature transitoire de l'expérience, dans sa tentative de comprendre le sens ultime de l'existence, Junichi semble la refuser courageusement et se laisser satisfaire uniquement par celle-ci. Par la suite, il recourt à des lectures, à la conscience et au raisonnement, bien que la conséquence en sera l'amour dépourvu de passion et la solitude sans larmes. Ainsi, le fait qu'une expression qui revient souvent dans le texte est « ishiki no shikii no shita » (‘au-dessous du seuil de la conscience') (cf. Cominetti 2008: 125), ce n'est pas un hasard. Cela rappelle au lecteur de quel endroit viennent les rêves, les pensées, l'hésitation, l'imagination, les alliés sûrs du conscient et du subconscient étant, depuis toujours, les livres. Quoique la conscience lui demande d'y renoncer, le volume de Racine va rester, jusqu'à la fin du texte, le lien entre Junichi et le monde réel, même si ce dernier porte le nom de Sakai. L'autonomie du soi devient certitude pour Junichi, et la rhétorique de l'intériorité avec laquelle il commence à se familiariser lui montre que malgré la définition de structure fixe donnée au soi par l'humanisme traditionnel, le soi est, en fait, sujet au changement et à la métamorphose. C'est ce qui explique, peut-être, au final, la solitude attristée du protagoniste principal qui en découle.

Une fois activé le procédé de l'intertextualité par le maintien de certains titres tels *L'Improvisateur*, *L'Œvre* de Zola, *John Gabriel Borkman, L'Oiseau bleu, L'Esprit des lois* de Montesquieu*, Sexe et caractère* de Otto Weininger, *Phèdre* et beaucoup d'autres encore, des livres lus, en train d'être lus ou jamais lus par Junichi jusqu'à la fin du roman, l'écriture qui se fait devant le lecteur offre à celui-ci une piste de lecture intéressante par l'activité herméneutique sollicitée.

Situé à la frontière de l'oscillation, pour Junichi beaucoup de questions restent sans réponse, le désir se voit transposé en paroles et la recherche va appartenir, au final du livre, à un démiurge apprenti, désireux et capable de sacrifier son propre plaisir physique pour le plaisir d'écrire, poussé par la nostalgie de la communion entre existence et connaissance. Mais comment construire un destin individuel, dans cet écoulement neutre du temps ?!, semble se demander Junichi, de manière rhétorique. La réponse en est laissée à la portée des lecteurs qui, par l'acte de la lecture, peuvent partager l'acte de création de mondes possibles.

Certes, le texte narratif ne suppose pas seulement création, mais lecture aussi, et la lecture sera orientée par le langage proposé par le texte. « Écrire » et « lire » deviennent les moments réciproques et simultanés du même acte de « production » (cf. Baudry 1980: 230), or l'intertextualité est, dans le roman *Seinen,* l'un des éléments favorisant cette interprétation, par laquelle le lecteur devient témoin du roman en train de s'écrire. La reconstruction et le déchiffrement du texte se font par l'acte de la lecture. Or, grâce à l'intertextualité, l'espace de la lecture inauguré par l'écriture proposée par le narrateur de *Seinen* suppose non seulement simple lecture, mais aussi interprétation, réécriture.

La lecture devant les lecteurs (cf. Cominetti 2008: 105) se manifeste sur deux paliers : l'un consisterait dans les citations reproduites dans le texte et alors la lecture devient littérale, et l'autre serait donné par paraphrase ou reformulation, lorsque la lecture se transforme en monologue intérieur. Ainsi, dans le roman *Seinen* l'intrigue est constituée non seulement de l'expérience personnelle de l'actant principal, mais elle est complétée par le documentarisme et le journalisme, par la rhétorique idéologique et l'information scientifique, dans une période où le public se montrait intéressé plus par la relation de l'écriture avec la réalité, étant moins préoccupé par son éducation littéraire :

> « Les critiques que le public adresse aux nouveaux courants littéraires sont pour la plupart répandues par des gens comme Omura. Et ils expriment leurs avis sans même lire les œuvres! De ce point de vue, ce ne sont pas les œuvres en tant que telles que rejette le public: il se contente de suivre aveuglément les attaques dirigées par une clique contre une autre. Il est vrai que le décret d'interdiction de mise en vente est décidé par des fonctionnaires, mais si le gouvernement en vient à s'immiscer dans le monde des lettres, en fustigeant le naturalisme ou l'individualisme, c'est à coup sûr la conséquence de ces critiques virulentes. » (Mori Ōgai 2006: 221-222)

Mais cette insistance si marquée sur le références littéraires ne devient pas seulement la trame idéologique du roman, mais propose aussi le régime interrelationnel des personnages du texte. L'intertextualité a déclenché la fonction narrative (cf. Sollers 1980: 281) constituée de deux mouvements : un premier mouvement - l'écriture d'un livre situé à l'intersection avec d'autres livres et un autre mouvement construisant le sujet du livre par l' invocation plutôt des idées que de l'action.

Par la suite, l'écrivain se voit obligé d'apprendre non seulement les règles de la lecture et de l'écriture en tant que acte créateur, mais aussi celles de la réception, puisque personne n'est écrivain par le simple fait d'avoir pris la décision de dire certaines choses, mais, surtout parce qu'il a décidé de le faire d'une certaine manière. L'intertextualité semble être l'option du narrateur de *Seinen*, dans le défi jeté aux limites du langage. Et cette abondance de renvois intertextuels, sans devenir accablante, participe à la construction d'une écriture dont la transparence rend visible l'acte d'écrire. Comment le sentiment linguistique de la langue japonaise accueillera-t-il ce défi ? Comprendra-t-on l'harmonie proposée par ce *theatrum mundi* créé par l'intermédiaire de l'intertextualité ? Dans le roman *Seinen* il n'est pas révélé un sens, mais il est proposé de découvrir ce sens. Par la suite, Junichi, à la fin du roman, ne convainc pas le lecteur par une création menée à bonne fin, mais le convainc de la décision de créer un jour quelque chose. L'espérance morte a été transformée en une vivante, dynamique :

> « Si je tentais d'écrire quelque chose maintenant, il me semble que je pourrais parvenir à un résultat. » (Mori Ōgai 2006: 231)

Tout comme Junichi, l'homme de lettres Mori Ōgai sera amené, en fin de compte, à se retourner vers le passé, et ce par les aventures intellectuelles et littéraires de la période Meiji, auxquelles il avait participé de manière active. Il deviendra un spectateur *résigné* dans le conflit engendré par les temps modernes, orientés, sur un fond conservateur de préservation des valeurs féodales et du système impérial, vers une imitation sans discernement de l'Occident. L'écrivain japonais accepte et respecte l'autorité gouvernementale, mais souhaite que la manifestation de ce pouvoir se fasse à travers des décisions motivant la créativité et la connaissance (voir Hopper 1974: 396).

Par son attitude de promotion des idées littéraires, philosophiques et scientifiques de l'Occident, Mori Ōgai est considéré au Japon un « feu » (cf. Janeira 1970: 134) romantique et idéaliste, un écrivain et un homme de science ayant soulevé, au travers de sa création, tant la problématique de la mission de l'intellectuel, que celle de la liberté de pensée et d'expression dans la société nippone. Se considérant un « éternel rebelle» Mori Ōgai a révolutionné, de manière particulière, la littérature japonaise et le lecteur retrouve, dans son œuvre littéraire, ce qu'on pourrait appeler « beauté en silence »…

BIBLIOGRAPHIE

Barthes, Roland et alii, 1980, Pentru o teorie a textului. Antologie „Tel Quel" 1960-1971 (*Pour une théorie du texte. Anthologie „Tel Quel" 1960-1971*), Introduction, anthologie et traduction par Adriana Babeți et Delia Şepeţeanu- Vasiliu, Bucarest: Editions Univers.

Baudry, Jean-Louis, 1980, *Scriitură, ficțiune, ideologie* (*Écriture, fiction, idéologie*), dans Barthes, Roland et alii, 1980, Pentru o teorie a textului. Antologie „Tel Quel" 1960-1971 (*Pour une théorie du texte. Anthologie „Tel Quel" 1960-1971*), Introduction, anthologie et traduction par Adriana Babeți et Delia Şepeţeanu-Vasiliu, Bucarest: Editions Univers, pp. 226-250.

Cominetti, Philippe, 2008, *Références occultes ; Là-bas dans Seinen de Mori Ōgai*, dans „Revue de Hiyoshi. Langue et littérature française", No.46, pp.101-128.

Genette, Gérard, 1982, *Palimpsestes. La littérature au second degré*, Paris: Editions du Seuil.

Heimonet, Jean-Michel, 1992, *Hegelianism and Its Monsters: The Dynamics of Writing in Georges Bataille*, dans Nemoianu, Virgil; Royal, Robert (eds.), 1992, *Play, Literature, Religion. Essays in Cultural Intertextuality*, New-York: State University of New-York Press, pp. 141-159.

Hondru, Angela, 2004, *Ghid de literatură japoneză* (*Guide de littérature japonaise*), vol. II, volume II, Bucarest : Editions Victor.

Hopper, Helen M., 1974, *Mori Ogai's Response to Suppression of Intellectual Freedom*, 1902-12, dans „Monumenta Nipponica", Vol. 29, No.4, (Winter), pp. 381-413.

Janeira, Armando Martins, 1970, *Japanese and Western Culture. A Comparative Study*, Tokyo: Charles. E. Tuttle Company.

Katō, Shūichi, 1998, *Istoria literaturii japoneze (De la origini până în prezent)*/ *Histoire de la littérature japonaise (Depuis les origines jusqu'à présent)*, traduction du japonais par Kazuko Diaconu et Paul Diaconu, avec une interview de l'auteur pour les lecteurs roumains et une Préface par Nicolae Manolescu, vol. II, Bucarest: Editions Nipponica.

Kristeva, Julia, 1981, *Le language, cet inconu. Une initiation à la linguistique*, Paris: Editions du Seuil.

Kristeva, Julia (coord.), 1975, *La traversée des signes*, Paris: Editions du Seuil.

Kristeva, Julia, 1980, *Problemele structurării textului* (*Problèmes de la structuration du texte*), dans Barthes, Roland et alii, 1980, *Pentru o teorie a textului. Antologie „Tel Quel" 1960-1971* (*Pour une théorie du texte. Anthologie „Tel Quel" 1960-1971*), Introduction, anthologie et traduction par Adriana Babeți et Delia Şepeţeanu- Vasiliu, Bucarest: Editions Univers, pp. 250-273.

Kristeva, Julia, 1980, *Semiotica: ştiinţă critică şi/sau critică a ştiinţei* (*La sémiotique: science critique et/ou critique de la science*), dans Barthes, Roland et alii, 1980, *Pentru o teorie a textului. Antologie „Tel Quel" 1960-1971* (*Pour une théorie du texte. Anthologie „Tel Quel" 1960-1971*), Introduction, anthologie et traduction par Adriana Babeți et Delia Şepeţeanu- Vasiliu, Bucarest: Editions Univers, pp. 300-318.

Mazzota, Giuseppe, 1992, *The Theology of Mario Luzi's Poetry*, dans Nemoianu, Virgil; Royal, Robert (eds.), 1992, *Play, Literature, Religion. Essays in Cultural Intertextuality*, New-York: State University of New-York Press, pp. 185-199.

Mori, Ōgai, 1969, *Seinen*, dans „Nihon bungaku zenshū 7", Tokyo: Kawadeshoko, pp. 92-170.

Mori, Ōgai, 1969, *Maihime*, dans „Nihon bungaku zenshū 7", Tokyo: Kawadeshoko, pp. 171-181.

Mori, Ōgai, 2005, *Gan*, Tokyo: Shinchōbunko.

Mori, Ogai, 1995 [1972], *Vita Sexualis*, translated from the Japanese by Kazuji Ninomiya & Sandford Goldstein, Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle Company.

Mori, Ōgai, 1996, *Incidentul de la Sakai* (L'incident de Sakai), traduction par Vivia Săndulescu, Bucarest: Editions de la Fondation Culturelle Roumaine.

Mori, Ōgai, 2006, *Le jeune homme*, Traduit du japonais par Élisabeth Suetsugu, Paris: Editions du Rocher.

Nemoianu, Virgil; Royal, Robert (eds.), 1992, *Play, Literature, Religion. Essays in Cultural Intertextuality*, New-York: State University of New-York Press.

O'Neill, D. Cuong, 2006, *Portratit of an artist in Tokyo circa 1910: Mori Ōgai, Seinen*, dans „Japan Forum" 18(3), pp. 295-314.

Ricardou, Jean, 1980, *Literatura: o critică* (La littérature : une critique), dans Barthes, Roland et alii, 1980, *Pentru o teorie a textului. Antologie „Tel Quel" 1960-1971* (*Pour une histoire du texte. Anthologie „Tel Quel" 1960-1971*), Introduction, anthologie et traduction par Adriana Babeți et Delia Șepețeanu-Vasiliu, Bucarest: Editions Univers, pp. 127-156.

Simu, Octavian, 1994, *Dicționar de literatură japoneză* (*Dictionnaire de littérature japonaise*), Bucarest : Editions Albatros.

Sollers, Philippe, 1980, *Nivelurile semantice ale unui text modern* (Niveaux sémantiques d'un texte moderne), dans Barthes, Roland et alii, 1980, *Pentru o teorie a textului. Antologie „Tel Quel" 1960-1971* (*Pour une théorie du texte. Anthologie « Tel Quel » 1960-1971*), Introduction, anthologie et traduction par Adriana Babeți et Delia Șepețeanu- Vasiliu, Bucarest: Editions Univers, pp. 331-365.

Snyder, Stephen, 1994, *Ogai and the Problem of Fiction. Gan and Its Antecedents*, dans „Monumenta Nipponica", Vol. 49, No. 3, (Autumn), pp. 353-373.

Tschudin, Jean-Jacques, 2006, *Postface*, dans Mori Ōgai, *Le jeune homme*, Traduit du japonais par Élisabeth Suetsugu, Paris : Editions du Rocher.

STUDIA UBB PHILOLOGIA, LVIII, 1, 2013, p. 83 - 102
(RECOMMENDED CITATION)

STUDY ON THE MUSIC IN THE WORKS OF HARUKI MURAKAMI - FROM "*KAZE NO UTA WO KIKE (HEAR THE WIND SING)* " TO "*DANSU DANSU DANSU (DANCE DANCE DANCE)*"-

REIKO OTA[1]

ABSTRACT. ***Study on the Music in the Works of Haruki Murakami" - from "Kaze no uta wo kike (Hear the Wind Sing) " to "Dansu dansu dansu (Dance Dance Dance)"-***. Having studied the music appearing in Haruki Murakami's early works, such as "*Hear the Wind Sing*", "*Pinball, 1973*", "*A Wild Sheep Chase*", and "*Dance Dance Dance*", the conclusion was reached that Haruki Murakami understood the liberal mood of the American Pop & Rock of the 1960's as playing the role of raising the motivation of the Japanese to live in society. However, it was not because America had been victorious in World War II that Japan had become an subordinate to America, and been greatly influenced by American culture. The frank and open mood that Haruki Murakami had eagerly waited for coincided with the mood that Pop & Rock music created.

Keywords: frank and open mind, American influence, pop (popular music)

REZUMAT. ***Studiul muzicii în scrierile lui Haruki Murakami - De la "Kaze no uta wo kike (Ascultă cum cântă vântul) " la "Dansu dansu dansu (Dans, dans, dans)"-*** După ce a fost studiată muzicalitatea în romanele de început ale lui Haruki Murakami precum "Ascultă cum cântă vântul", "Pinball, 1973", "În căutarea oii fantastice" şi "Dans, dans, dans", s-a ajuns la concluzia că Haruki Murakami a înţeles atitudinea liberală a muzicii pop şi rock a anului 1969 ca având un rol în motivarea japonezilor să trăiască în societate. Totuşi, aceasta nu a fost cauzată de faptul că America a câştigat în Al Doilea Război Mondial şi Japonia a devenit subordonată Americii, fiind profund influenţată de cultura americană, ci de faptul că atitudinea onestă şi deschisă pe care Haruki Murakami a aşteptat-o cu nerăbdare a coincis cu atitudinea creată de muzica pop şi rock.

Cuvinte-cheie: minte onestă şi deschisă, influenţă americană, pop (gen musical pop)

1. Accepting American Culture, not denying Japanese Culture:

Haruki Murakami quite often gives significant roles to music in his stories. It is possible to read his stories accepting music as an accessory, but it should be understood as expressing something, as he intentionally often made it appear in his works. Music

[1] Professor of Graduate School, Dean of Junior College, and President of Open College of Showa Women's University in Tokyo, Japan. Researcher of Japanese Modern Literature.

helps to connect and relate to the hero, who holds the feeling of loss, and also has a great influence on the story itself. Only then could one clearly see what Haruki Murakami feels about music. By studying Haruki Murakami's essays on music, I would like to go into the theme of the relationship between story and music.

If one is satisfied with himself each day, he should be able to live a happy life. In order to be satisfied, he will have to appease his various desires. However, the barriers that prevent him from being satisfied are human relationships, living life while following rules, etc.. At the beginning of his career as a writer, he explains that he realized that to live is not to pursue his hope, as follows:

> After graduating from college, my hope to live calmly (quite a selfish hope, though) was continuously crushed. What is reality? It is the endless investment of capital and recovery. It is impossible to struggle and get away from the net. (omitted) Because it is inescapable, I had to fight. Almost all the time during my twenties (everyone probably does the same.) I continued to fight like this.(1)

He says that to live is to fight against reality, while in another book, he writes about his experience when he was in junior high school, when his mind was freed from daily life and facing reality by music, as follows.

"Surfing USA"(2) was a totally new type of song that I had never heard before. It truly sounded so fresh and original. The surfing band that such an easy-going name as "Beach Boys" sang with an ingratiating nasal voice grabbed my heart at once, and in some way, pushed to open the door of my mind. Listening to the song, my mind grew one size bigger and I even felt that if I tried, I could see the far-off purpose." (3)

Other things that make one feel free, like music, are art, literature, etc.. What is called "Media" nowadays includes newspapers, magazines, movies, radio, television, and internet, which connect each individual and culture. Shunsuke Tsurumi describes, "Culture is to be spread aroud." (4). Under the occupation of the USA after the World War II, Japan was ruled by America, and American culture spread all over Japan.

General MacArthur, Commander-in-Chief of the United Nations Force, explained at the hearing at the Upper House Joint Committee that the Japanese were "twelve-year-old boys" and "in the stage to be trained", which is a well-known citation (5). Many Japanese felt so humiliated by such words that they erased their memories of MacArthur. On the other hand, John W. Dower has analyzed the reality of Japan after MacArthur; (6) the Japanese could never erase the memories of MacArthur even though they tried, because "they were accustomed to call themselves MacArthur's children". He pointed out two arguments for this. Firstly, in 1951, the editorial in Asahi that appeared on the day following MacArthur's removal as Commander-in-Chief of the United Nations Force said, "He has taught us the merits of democracy and pacifism, and kindly led the people of Japan to this bright road." The second argument he gave was a Masahiro Shinoda movie (7) which was titled "SETOUCHI SHONEN YAKYUDAN (Setouchi Boys' Baseball Team)" (the title in English is " MacArthur's Children") (8).

Masahiro Shinoda has himself picked this title in English when the film was distributed to the United States. It was originally written by Yu Aku and was based on his

own experiences after Japan was defeated in the War. The English title was selected by Masahiro Shinoda, who analyzed his own experiences and decided. Furthermore, he explained why he considered himself as one of MacArthur's children: "Among all my experiences, I had to admit we lost against the US at the moment when I heard the sound of Glen Miller Orchestra". While this sound of SWING was heard in the US, in Japan a Japanese military (navy) song, "Umiyukaba", was the favorite song among the Japanese people, as if the two were competing against each other. Having been shocked by the big difference between the music loudly echoed in the country and the new sound of Glen Miller, he had to admit that he was looking down on Japanese popular music and denying the culture of his own country. The brightness of Glenn Miller music was totally different from the classic music of Germany, and was surely a new pleasurable experience. He explained how he felt the difference between Japanese and American culture not only by the direct education of the occupying military, but more by American music, saying, "In the 1940s, the sound of Glenn Miller gave me the ambivalent feeling of defeat in war and at the same time, a feeling of relief."(9)

Masahiro Shinoda's story about the pleasure learned through American SWING reminds me of Haruki Murakami's following statement on SWING in the postscript (10) of the book "*Imiga nakereba swing dewanai"* (*Meaningless Music is Music without Swing*.) "Any music has common groove, or something like a wave. (omitted) It is 'something else' that makes music excellent, true music." Just as Masahiro Shinoda explains, the same kind of feeling as "the sound of Glenn Miller Orchestra" "SWING", it is the different type of sound which no one can feel in Japanese popular music. In " Brian Wilson – loss of South California myth and rebirth" in the same book, Haruki Murakami also mentioned the shock he recieved when he first encountered American pop, as follows:

> It was 1963 when I first heard the songs of the Beach Boys. I was fourteen at the time and the song was "Surfing USA". When I first heard the pop coming out of the SONY transistor radio, I was literally at a loss for words. The music easily realized the special sound which I had been longing to hear but never had a specific image or feeling of. It was quite simple, and yet it was music of delicate feeling. (omitted) "The Beach Boys", that was their name. And, from that moment, The Beach Boys became a symbol of my youth. Or, I may say that they became an obsession for me. For quite a while after that, I lived with the music of The Beach Boys.(11)

It is obvious that American SWING had spread in postwar Japan. "It made everybody realize that Japan had been occupied, which had two meanings; firstly an experience of new civilization or culture called Americanism, and at the same time, it brought a strong impulse for us to deny our own culture." said Masahiro Shinoda who has been shocked by the music of Glenn Miller to such an extent that made him deny Japanese culture himself. It was in 1954 when he was 24 year old and the movie "Glenn Miller Story" was shown in Japan. Ever since then, America has spread its rich, sparkling, frank and open culture through new type of media like movies, radio and television. The people of Japan have started to enjoy the pleasure of American culture.

Now, Haruki Murakami had also experienced American culture through music, but his way of accepting it differed from that of Masahiro Shinoda. Haruki Murakami said, "(The Beach Boys's sound) has forced open the door of my mind.", and "By listening to that song, my mind has grown one size bigger, and I felt as if I could see things at a far distance." For him the significance was "a special kind of sound that easily realized what I had been longing to listen to, although I had no idea how it should look or how it should feel like." Before Haruki Murakami actually heard it, he already had the idea of such a sound in himself. He had existed in such a world, but it was one that he could not describe. For Masahiro Shinoda, until he heard the sound of Glenn Miller, he never felt out of place living Japan before World War II. Therefore, once he heard the American sound, he could not help but deny the Japanese culture and acknowledge America at once. Now we can clearly see the difference in the sense of freedom between these two, who have 12-year difference in age, one born during the war and experiencing the war while the other has not. Haruki Murakami commented on R.E.M., an American alternative rock musician group, "The vocalist, Michael Stipe, was telling the interviewer that he had been a fan of the Beach Boys and wore a striped shirt with a button-down collar just like them. I thought we were the same family!"(12) He was feeling close without noticing the difference in nationality, which is quite different from Masahiro Shinoda's honest comments about "occupation by the American culture", "American culture spread around Japan", etc. Michael Stipe was born in 1950, being one year younger than Haruki Murakami, and the debut of the group was in 1980, which is one year later than Haruki Murakami, but both started their professional activities at almost the same time. For Haruki Murakami, his desire to live freely as an individual sprung overwhelmingly.

The reason why Haruki Murakami's works beginning with his very first, written in 1979, "*Kaze no uta wo kike (Hear the Wind Wing*)", carry the titles and names of singers and groups, is due to existence of music in his memories, mainly of rock & pop music during his teens and twenties. Yoshiaki Sato (13) comments on youth and rock music saying that such music flew out of the transistor radio and moved the minds and bodies of the young all over the world during the time LP records were too expensive to purchase. It was also the time the youth was united as such. Such innocence will never return. (14). Many of the teens were intoxicated with the SWING of rock bands. Of course, not all over the world, as it was limited to the young of economically stable countries that allowed to be intoxicated. However, Ryu Murakami is concerned more about Japan. He deplored the lack of pop music in Japanese language, and at last, he wrote, Keisuke Kuwata came up with the idea to hunt for "Japanese words that could go with the beat". He said that we could recover our souls by singing in our mother tongue. He stressed the importance of singing this way. (15) Haruki Murakami, who was already reading American literature in English while in high school, did not have any complaint against pop being sung in his mother language.

2. Music that opens the free heart of "individual" with no restriction

Haruki Murakami describes his personal history with music saying that when he was in elementary school, he first encountered jazz through a college student in the neighborhood. He started to listen to jazz himself at the age of 15, and at the same time, the

Beatles appeared. Their music was quite new and had overwhelming impact. However, to him, the songs of the Beach Boys just fit his feeling and "reached to the deepest part of his heart." In high school, he started to listen to Arnold Schonberg. (16) His history with music, which started in junior high school, is reflected in Murakami's latest novel, "*1Q84*". The genre of music is not only limited to rock & pop, but also to classical, jazz, mood music, and so on, but not Japanese popular music. This is probably because it was not the music that he wanted to listen to for a long time during his life. Of course, he does listen to songs that are sung by Japanese artists. He says that he was listening to the Peanuts, who sung pop music at the time. (17)

There are a few of books that ennumerate the music that appears in Haruki Murakami's books. Among all, the most substantial one is "*Murakami Haruki no ongaku zukan*" ("Illustrated Guide for Haruki Murakami's Music") by Keita Konishi (18). Being instructed by Keita Konishi, Yuichiro Kurihara counted the number of music-related proper nouns, and the result shows that the frequency of their appearance is at its peak in "*Dance Dance Dance"*, gradually decreasing afterwards. (19). The number of songs in *"Dance Dance Dance"* is truly so overwhelming that it is more than double compared to the second ranking novel, *"Noruwei no mori (Norwegian Wood)"*. In his early works, beginning with "*Hear the Wind Sing*" to "*Dance Dance Dance*", the story teller, recounting memories from his teenager years till his early twenties, tries to explore himself. Pop music from late 1960's till 1970's appears frequently in these stories. The songs and bands that appear as proper nouns are not necessarily the leading ones nor the high ranking ones in the hit charts. Yoshiaki Sato commented that the teenagers in the world were not rich enough to buy LP records, but they moved their bodies and hearts with the sound coming out of transistor radios on the beach, which was certainly music that never existed before, and it was at this time that the the young was considered to be one group. However, in the works of Haruki Murakami, such a youth group for rock and pop did not appear. Haruki Murakami had a strong desire "to be free, to be one independent individual", and therefore, in such early works, the heroes "value being independent most, being free and not restrained." Working in a big company and having a family meant some kind of security, which was counted as high credit in Japan. He wrote: "An urbanite who has no family, a drifter, was made to be the hero of the story, where he observed various happenings he had to cope with. Also, it was quite important to maintain the perspectives carefully." (20) As he wrote, it was not his admiration for American culture, but encountering the sound of Beach Boys as a shocking meeting with what he had been looking for, that his desire to be an "individual" is based on. It is not because American culture respects individual personality. It is not because he studied American culture and reached this conclusion. Haruki Murakami told Hayao Kawai, "While living in Japan, I strongly wished to be an individual, (omitted) and tried to run and run and run away from things like groups, organizations, and restrictions, and therefore, I was writing novels all alone. (omitted) Then, what I came to realize when I went to America was that I no longer needed to run away and try to be an individual. (omitted) What I was longing for meant nothing at all over there! (21) In Japan, people try to work together to develop one's originality, and it is difficult to be an individual because one always mingles with the group and becomes a part of it."

It is to disclose everything of one person that character is set to long for individuality by avoiding all restraints. It is to expose his faults and weakness. Nobody protects him. Or rather, the hero, who avoids to depend on others, never wishes to make friends, stays away from his family, and never goes into detailed discussion even with his close friend, NEZUMI (rat). When he divorces his wife, he says, "It is your problem!" *"Hitsuji wo meguru bōken ("A Wild Sheep Chase"),* and he never wishes to control others with his opinions. He never gets involved with others, even with his wife, by stating his own opinion. He looks very cold and at the same time, respects others. However, he is not indifferent to others, because he helps his classmate look for her contact lens, tries to help the extremely drunk lady. (both from "*Hear the Wind Sing*") The mind of one man, who feels restraints in his individuality, freedom, and even restricted by his own family, invents the story of the city which was built by the people who lost emotion and appreciation for love of others, and he meditates on whether he could live there or not. (*Sekai no owari to hado boirudo wandaarando* / "*Hard-boiled Wonderland and the End of the World*"). The hero believes that he is a free individual only when he is not restrained, and it is only music through which he can open his mind to the outside world. This is the significance for the existance of the music which appears in Haruki Murakami's works beginning with *"Hear the Wing Sing*" to "*Dance Dance Dance*". Not only is the music treated so, but the story is also told in first person narrative, and his works in straight line up to "*Dance Dance Dance*" can be considered to be the early stage of Haruki Murakami as a writer.

In "*Hear the Wind Sing*", a radio disc jockey plays the role of attracting and keeping the hearts of listeners. He himself wishes to connect to somebody who cannot control the distance between others. He is a nosy person, and expects things to be done for him by others. The hero, when receiving a phone call from this disc jockey, could not forget his girlfriend, who had committed suicide four months before, and said that he was destined to lose by looking down on his late grandmother and uncle and listing his girlfriend's faults. Because it was impossible for him to carry on a good relationship with others without being restrained, the hero himself, who continued to lose, had this reason for his way of thinking. Recalling how he always lost in life and he never took action, doing nothing but hiding in J's Bar as if he were feeling the vanity of life, he spent most of his time just drinking beer and eating peanuts. It is the disc jockey who phoned the hero then. He opened his mind, and gave him the chance to meet the girl again. She was misunderstood by the hero, who brought her home when she was very drunk at the J's Bar. The hero never even tried to remember anyone like the girl, who was his classmate, and who sent a request card to radio station. This old classmate never forgot the hero for 3 years. To show her gratitude for helping her look for her contact lens, she wrote, she lent him an LP record of The Beach Boys including "California Girls" (22), which the hero also remembered. "California Girls" is a song about a girl who Mike Love, the vocalist, met on tour. It speaks about girls all over the US, and finally it is a very happy and poppy song, admiring Californian girls as No.1. The introduction is symphonic, a beautiful song with a relaxing melody which changes keys very well. It was a big hit and in 1985, it was covered and became a hit yet again. (23). The lyrics

were quoted in the novel, and the T-shirt sent by the radio station as a gift is illustrated. Such a novel, that basically has rhythm in its style, turned out to be quite pop and gave a light impression to the readers. The hero's feelings turned positive and a little outgoing, and he went to buy a record wearing that T-shirt. He met the girl from before and this encounter gave him the chance to solve her misunderstanding. As he never had the chance to meet his classmate who he borrowed the record from, he spent his summer vacation with his new girlfriend. When Haruki Murakami first heard the Beach Boys sing, he explained that it was as if "it had pushed to open something like the door of his mind". Among all the songs of the Beach Boys, he liked "Fun, Fun, Fun" the best. (24) The lryics are: "Borrowing the Thunder Bird of her father by lying to go to the library, but the girl was in fact having fun in car chase, showing off the T-bird to her boyfriends. Her father saw her and the car was taken away. She was down, but I was happy that way because I could have fun with her." The song is a simple-minded and happy story. Both the music and words of the songs of the Beach Boys had freshness, making the hero feel excited, and totally free from the past restraints regarding his way of life, and he could free his mind in this unrestrained world. It was this song that Gotanda-kun sung in the book "*Dance Dance Dance*". Though he wished to free his mind, he had already taken a wrong road. If he were able to have the chance to remember the Beach Boys, we could suspect that he could have called back the fresh feeling.

Yuki, who was a child abandoned by her parents in "*Dance Dance Dance*", obtained liberation of mind from rock & pop. When the hero was about to leave from Sapporo, he was asked by Yumiyoshi-san, the receptionist at the hotel front desk, to kindly accompany Yuki to Tokyo because she was left there by her mother. When Yuki never put down the ear-phones of her walkman, while waiting for the flight that was delayed by 2 hours, he decided to listen to music on the radio of the rented car at high volume. In the beginning, they were listening to Yuki's cassette tape, and the hero sang along. While they were listening to music that a girl in her early teens would love, the hero started to sing because he found the songs from when he was 15 and 16, covered by other singers. He was driving on the snow-covered road fondly listening to the rock 'n roll music on the tape and such music was so comfortable and relaxing that he sometimes sang along. When the tape ended, Yuki showed interest in the tapes that the hero rented. The oldies flew out and the hero sang with the tape. The songs were what he had been listening to when he was about Yuki's age. "It seemed that anything made me happier when I was younger", he said to Yuki, and she replied, "It is much more fun to listen to music than going around with others." Yuki started to open her mind when she learned that the hero liked rock & pop and he showed sympathy for her speech. Their common reaction toward rock & pop had shrunk the age difference of twenty years and changed distrust into trust.

Haruki Murakami believes in the power of music, which is that the heart is healed by music, and it creates trust between people. In his *Hard-Boiled Wonderland and the End of the World*", music also displays its power. In the world surrounded by walls without exit," nobody hurts anyone, no one resents each other, nobody has desire,

everybody is satisfied and is living peacefully. (omitted) It is because they do not have a heart. Those without heart are not aware of music. The hero, who wished to find the heart of the girl at the library, led by an accordion, reaches to the melody of "Danny Boy", and repeatedly plays the music himself. The melody of "Danny Boy" pervades his heart, makes him relaxed, eases his body and heart, and makes him realize that he was long looking for the song. The girl who was supposed to have no heart starts to weep and the skull of the beast that had swallowed the fragment of her heart started to shine. This is the scene where music gradually dissolved the hardened heart. Haruki Murakami tells that music has the power to regain heart.

The story tells that when one's heart dances, one can step forward and when one's heart is warmed, one wishes to talk to others. It also tells that music has the power to open the heart to the outside world. Music develops the story and pushes the hero's narration forward. In "*Dance Dance Dance*", the hero, who buried his friend NEZUMI, continued to sit alone in his room quietly in order to sort out and verify specifically and practically everything related to the incident, without talking to anyone, without answering any phone-calls or receiving visitors at the door, replying to the letter from his divorced wife, reading a single book, opening newspapers, and even listening to music, which happened from January through June, 1979. The moment when he finally decided to return to work, the moment of conclusion of the trial, is the most impressive scene in the group of works by Haruki Murakami, which describes the correlation between music and hearts. Carefully studying the fixed year and dating the three stories, "Hear the Wind Sing" can be judged to be written with this timing. This work was carried out in the June 1979 edition, but putting aside the reality of the writer and looking just at the world of the story, it was written when the hero decided to make a comeback to society. As *"Hear the Wind Sing"* focused on memories of school time, NEZUMI was well. However, NEZUMI in fact no longer existed. If so, the reason for the feeling of loss and uncertainty lying at the bottom of the story was of the death of his girlfriend, who was majoring in French literature and committed suicide, and NEZUMI. Or, maybe the loss of NEZUMI was what had more seriously affected him. Because the hero neither talks about his heart nor himself, what he was feeling is not clear. One thing that is clear is that in "*Dance Dance Dance*", nothing is mentioned about NEZUMI or Naoko. After six months of sorting out, he hid everything at the bottom of his memory.

When this sorting out was done, the cat IWASHI (sardine) who stayed beside him all the while, died. The hero's last companion was gone. The hero who wrote, "If one dies once, he has nothing more to lose. That is the superior point of death" was certainly the one who wrote "*Hear the Wind Sing*" and who tried to live "himself". The hero thought about IWASHI who, just like him, could not deal with others. IWASHI was always beside the hero, who repeated "the Story of IWASHI", while looking at him with a worried glance; "His life was not a happy one. He was not particularly loved by anyone. He was always looking at my face with worried eyes, which were saying, "What am I going to lose from now on? (25)"

IWASHI never wanted to be petted, but always stayed beside the hero. Though they always stayed together, the hero could declare that they did not love each other.

He considered IWASHI as a mirror that reflected himself, and probably saw himself in IWASHI with the loneliness of not accepting others. Therefore, he could not help but wish that life after death would be happier than real life. The thoughts of the hero that one would be freed from human relations by death is reflected in his words for IWASHI, "There is nothing more to lose." IWASHI went away from the hero when he finished sorting out of his thoughts, and this can be read as the hero trying to live without restraints, while there was always somebody who watched over him whether he wanted it or not. This could also be read as the hero's desire to be watched over.

The hero drove towards the west by listening to rock music on the radio in order to bury IWASHI, who always stayed beside him. He began to be critical of the pop and ballad which he heard after 6 months (absence of music). He complained, "No interesting music at all at any time." Remembering the music from his teenage years, he even mentioned the consumer economy that was the reproduction of mass consumer music, forcing teenagers to purchase. When Rolling Stones' "Brown Sugar" was played, he was impressed and listened seriously, thinking that it was abnormal to be too particular and it was truly wonderful and normal music. Wasn't it a stage when his frozen thoughts focusing on one incident were starting to melt gradually? In his indignation at the enumeration of similar songs with no freshness that sounded merely like reproductions, he was feeling the anger at the incident which had driven NEZUMI to commit suicide. NEZUMI hated the social control possessing strong powers, and he chose death, wishing to stay weak. Together with mass-production, reproduction is an important element of the high capitalistic economic system which controls the era and society. Listening to mass consumer music is the same as going along with such a system. There is indignation at following the structure by giving more value to the system than to the characteristics of the "individual". Among songs that furthered anger, what the hero felt "normal" was the Rolling Stones' song called "Brown Sugar" which started with the picking sound of an electric guitar. It is said that "Sugar" used in the title is an English slang term and means heroine or cute girl. The contents of the words merely expresses pleasure, as Mick Jagger shouts, "Taste so good!". It was the hit song of the Rolling Stones in 1979, which the hero considered "normal", and he must have felt sympathy for the Rolling Stones, who were standing for the "individual" and neglecting their reputation.

On the way home from burying "IWASHI", the hero was just listening to the music without thinking, and "Born to Lose" by Ray Charles started on the radio. (26) The lyrics were: "I have been losing since I was born", "and, now I am about to lose you", and the hero thought it was "the song that touched the softest spot in the heart" and "a song of pity" The hero was moved to tears when he heard it while drinking coffee at the service area on the highway. He was thinking about IWASHI, and he tried to convince himself to admit that it was appropriate for both IWASHI and himself. It was "satori" (enlightenment) that if life was filled with feelings of loss, death would correspond at the same time as reason for nobody to remember him. "Born to Lose" was picked because its musical motif and words just fit the feelings of the hero. Ray Charles sang this song with a vast heart, accepting all the feelings of loss by controlling his emotion, not to be too

moved by the lyrics, carefully, word to word. With tears playing the role of purifying hearts, the hero changed his feeling to a new one, and it made the readers recognize "the time to return to society". The road to the burial is the most impressive scene among all the works of Haruki Murakami. The arrangement of songs is superior, and the sorrow of the hero reaches you without psychological description. It can be described that the sorrow reaches your heart because there is no expression of emotion. "*Dance Dance Dance*" leads the readers to the midst of society through a thought-provoking word, "ODORUNDAYO (dance)". In the finale of the story, the hero recognized his feelings of love for the girl called Yumiyoshi-san, who was working in a hotel. An "individual" wished to be connected to an "individual". This was the start of an "individual" step forward in the direction which the "individual" had long been seeking since in the debut work of Haruki Murakami. The beginning of "*Dance Dance Dance*" and the finale were constructed to correspond. There is an episode at the beginning of "*Dance Dance Dance*" where the hero returned to society after burying IWASHI and started to court the girl working at a telephone bureau. As he could not be understood by the girl, they broke up. In that episode, an English band called "The Human League" was particularly popular. It is obviously meaningful as the name of the band was written in gothic letters. "The Human League" can be translated to mean a league of human-beings and a tie between people. The name of the band symbolizes the development of the story of the hero to associate with others gradually, and at the finale, it has an influence on the hero to take a big step forward in order not to lose Yumiyoshi-san.

The music appeared to entertain the readers, but the reason why Haruki Murakami took up music in his works is not just an accessory for the book. It plays a big role relating to the way of thinking and psychology of the characters.

3. The Beatles, who were not cool.

It is obvious that Haruki Murakami did not pick songs casually, because the year and month fixed in the story coincided with the launch year and month of the hit music, and moreover, the music explained the background of the times. It is a wonder then that so few Beatles' songs appeared.

About the Beatles, Haruki Murakami said in the magazine "*Kangaeruhito(The Thinker)*" that he had not bought any record, and in his essay written 7 year after the publication of "*Norwegian Wood*" (1987), he evaluated them comparatively low by saying; "I had no choice but to hear the Beatles' single hit songs 'whenever I turned on the radio'", "Honestly speaking, I thought 'that is the music English families are playing'", "They were not COOL to me at that time." (27), although his favorite songs were many more than those he disliked. Their songs that appeared in his stories are firstly *"1973nen no pin boru(Pinball, 1973)"* in which the Beatles' song was mentioned when the twins came to buy the "Rubber Soul". The hero seemed to dislike the Beatles, and though he became displeased, he changed his mind and listened to the record while drinking coffee.

At the end of 1965, the Beatles released an important album, which was "Rubber Soul". From this point onwards, the Beatles had cast off the costume of the conventional rock group, and had started to open a new sphere for rock music, which was sophisticated,

well figured, and reflective. John said, "It is the first album where we have done the design and everything else by ourselves." (28) In 1966 Brian Wilson of the Beach Boys, who was in charge of composition, heard "Rubber Soul". He was surprised with the album, most of which was filled with songs of high value, and rushed into preparation for making a better album themselves. "He was determined that the new album should be of spiritual songs. (omitted) He has appointed Tony Asher, a young copy writer, as co-writer for the new album, because he could not write words good enough, and Mike would not write the words as he wanted either. (omitted) The image of sound and harmony were totally different from the sound of the Beach Boys so far, of the ocean or the girls on the beach were depicted in the reflective words, and the album had a graceful atmosphere throughout the first part." (29) This is "Pet Sounds".

Haruki Murakami claimed that the songs of the Beach Boys fitted him by saying, "I still listen to the songs of the Beach Boys." However, competing with the Beatles, the studio album "Pet Sound" that Brian Wilson had put his whole heart and soul into has never been taken up in his books. It probably lacked pop. It did not fit the story. In fact, "Pet Sounds" does not sound like the Beach Boys' music. Because people could not dance with it, the record company criticized the album, and beginning with the next album, they returned to their original style of SWING. (30)

In *"Pinball in 1973",* the Beatles appeared in one more part. When he opened an office specializing in translation with his friend, he hired a female clerk who liked "Penny Lane", and she was singing it twenty times a day. "Penny Lane" was a coupling song with "Strawberry Fields Forever", and it was a double A-side single record. They are two terrific songs that have received the favorable remarks as the greatest and strongest singles in the history of rock music". (31) This character was set to like only one side of the record. "Penny Lane" was the song that Paul (Paul McCartney) was fronting and it described the bus street, where the barbershop, bank, fire station actually existed. "Strawberry Fields Forever" was written by John Lennon. It was inspired by Lennon's memories of playing in the garden of a Salvation Army house named "Strawberry Field" near his childhood home. He had long been feeling this loneliness since his childhood. (32) Haruki Murakami dislikes to talk about "ego" (33) but it is quite convincing that he chose "Penny Lane". Regarding the clerk, following the story, one notices that she has two things that correspond with the wife whom the hero divorced in *"A Wild Sheep Chase."* One is when the hero's partner complains about the hero's not having consulted him about the divorce by saying, "Do you ever remember that we three have been working together?"(34) The other was that because the hero's marriage was for 4 years, and following the story, it came to reach the clerk who was singing "Penny Lane".

Though it does not say that the Beatles was the cause of their divorce, the two got married knowing that she liked the Beatles, and consequently, she met a jazz guitarist, which turned out to be the reason for their divorce. A story involving music is exactly like Haruki Murakami.

The book Haruki Murakami related to the Beatles is *"Norwegian Wood"*. For Toru Watanabe, the song was a difficult memory that made him recall the suicide of

Naoko, as it was her favorite song. The incident can be read in the sense that Naoko had committed suicide because of feeling guilty about two emotions: having been charmed by Toru Watanabe, and not wishing to betray her lover. In the hospital Reiko was Naoko's roommate, and singing *"Norwegian Wood"* and other songs at Naoko's funeral, she tempted him by confessing she loved him. Toru could not understand girls. The Beatles' song was used to describe the women the hero's mind was occupied with and could not get rid of. In *"Dance Dance Dance"*, there is a sentence: "What I am worried about is the people that you will get involved with in the future."(35) in the letter from his ex-wife after the divorce. In *"Norwegian Wood"*, the hero is a different character, but he is described as a person with unpleasant feelings after the woman who he had been playing around the women left. The cause of pressure that made the hero sickened and crippled was the memory of women who approached him led by the Beatles' song "Norwegian Wood*"*. It is the Beatles' song that easily broke the strong impression, working in the subconscious, that the hero had repressed and sealed the memory. In his early books, Haruki Murakami selected songs of the Beatles in order to express the women with feelings of loss. Haruki Murakami truly felt that "after twenty years since he first heard the songs of the Beatles, he found the music nice for the first time." Around that time, he started to write the novel titled *"Norwegian Wood"*, and he confessed that the music that was used in the first scene of the airplane had to be *"Norwegian Wood"*. (36)

The words of the Beatles' songs have a sort of message, while the ones of the Beach Boys and the Rolling Stones are rather pleasure-seeking. The words of the Beatles' songs are full of keywords that protest "ego" and make people think.

For Haruki Murakami, music is reality. It is not to bring close the world of fantasy, nor not to listen in dreams, but the sound has the function to open the mind toward the outside world. Up to *"Dance Dance Dance*" music played a big role for the hero as detachment. This means that he was trying to protect his personal disconnection by his own will. (37) This individual turned his mind toward the outside world because of pop music and started to face others. His heart then knew that he is not strong enough to control everything by himself. In "*Hard-Boiled Wonderland and the End of the World*", the scene where the hero wished to remember the song and went out to buy an instrument is important, because it describes that even though he rejected being with others and wanted to be just himself, his mind turned to open the door towards the outside. During the talk with Hayao Kawai, Haruki Murakami said, "Commitment is beginning to be quite important to me." (38) Many songs that appeared in the books from *"Hear the Wind Sing"* up to *"Dance Dance Dance*" led the hero, wishing to be detached, to accept commitment to the outside world. They have watered the injured heart by feelings of loss and had the role of pushing the hero to become positive and wish to be connected with outside world, to take the first step forward. It can be said that the title *"Dance Dance Dance"* symbolizes the power of music.

The pop music including pop or rock music became popular in the capitalism economy society after the World War II, and so called "new songs" have been produced one after the other although they were reproduction. The music in Haruki

Murakami's works of early part shows that pops & rock music played the role of opening the closing mind of tired people who have been trying to live positively in spite of the pressure of economic system and subordination.

Notes:

(1) *"Hachigatsu no iori – boku no "Hōjyōki"taiken" Taiyō* (Oct., 1981)

(2) Surfin' USA (Capital Record) was a joint composition of Chuck Berry & Brian Wilson in 1963. 5 release *The words were written, including the various names of the famous places for surfing, for the song composed by Chuck Berry, "Sweet Little Sixteen". The title took after the song "Twistin' USA" that includes names of cities in America*("The Beach Boys 2001" byVANDA 2001 Shinko Music pub.co.ltd)

*Chuck Berry: said to be one of the founders of the Rock 'n Roll music. Works by Chuck Berry are covered - "Rock and Roll Music released in 1957" was covered by the Beatles, the Beach Boys etc. "Sweet Little Sixteen" was released in 1957.

* Chubby Checker The twist / twistin' USA (released in 1961)

R&B/Pop singer, born in 1941. His debut single "The class", which mixed mimicry, has recorded medium rankings. After that his cover of "The Twist" by Hank Ballade & the Mid-Nighters has been a big hit in the USA. Twist became extremely popular in the area around Philadelphia - New York, and it was a social phenomenon.

Ref: http://www.nightbeatrecords.com/?pid=40573025

(3) "The beach Boys" by Haruki Murakami ("Rock People 101" 1995, edited by Yoshiaki Sato & Motoyuki Shibata, issued by Shinshokan) p. 35

(4) Shunsuke Tsurumi stated in *"Taishū geijyutsuron rajio bunka (Popular Art Theory – Radio Culture)"* ("*Genkai geijyutsuron*" 1999 Chikuma Gakugei Bunko); "Culture is something that is spread around. Without it spreading, it does not grow naturally and firmly in the souls of everyone. Culture is something that spreads, does not exist in one place. (omitted). It becomes culture in this way. Culture becomes another culture after spreading. The rehabilitation and continuity of culture that has been spread will take place" (p.119) In this theory, he describes the risk of the compulsory force of radio going deeply into the heart of each person. "The culture proliferated by radio reaches into our houses. On our side we were only requested to turn on the switch, and everything else, like speed and how to carry out opinions, is totally up to them. This is the reason why radio displays its great compelling power, stronger than any communication means of the past.

(5) …before a joint committee in the Senate on May 5, 1951, at the very end of the three exhausting days of testimony, during the course of which he had, in passing, made very complimentary comments about not only the admirable qualities of the Japanese people and the "great social revolution" they had undergone, but also the superb spirit of their fighting men in World War II. It was MacArthur's intention to argue that the Japanese could be trusted more than the Germans. This was the way he put it when asked if the Japanese could be counted on to defend the freedom they gained under the occupation: Well, the German problem is a completely and entirely different one from the Japanese problem. The German people were a mature race. If the Anglo-Saxon

was say 45 years of age in his development, in the sciences, the arts, divinity, culture, the Germans were quite as mature. The Japanese, however, in spite of their antiquity measured by time, were in a very tuitionary condition. Measured by the standards of modern civilization, they would be like a boy of twelve as compared with our development of 45 years. Like any tuitionary period, they were susceptible to following new models, new ideas. You can implant basic concepts there. They were still close enough to origins to be modeled and accept new concepts. (the last part omitted) (*"Embrasing Defeat – Japan in the Wake of World War II"* by John W. Dower, jointly translated by Yōichi Miura, Tadaaki Takasugi, Yasuko Tashiro, 2001, Iwanami Shoten) p. 405~406 of book II (p. 550 in the original book)

(6) John Dower pointed out in the previously referred book that the relationship between Japan and the US at that time was that of master and man and the independence as a democratic country was not yet granted. "The entire occupation had been premised on acquiescing America's overwhelming paternalistic authority; and even as sovereignty drew near, even as the nation was being rehabilitated as a Cold War partner, the Americans never had any real expectation that an equitable relationship would be the result. The new military was a "little American army", obviously destined to remain under U.S. control. The new economy was inordinately dependent on American support and indulgence. Much of the rest of the world – on both sides of the Cold War divide – was, in fact, appalled and alarmed by the haste with which the democratization agenda had been abandoned, the old guard resurrected, and remilitarization promoted. In such circumstances, it was still difficult to imagine a sovereign Japan as anything other than dependent on and subordinate to the United States for the foreseeable future – a client state in all but name." p.408 (p. 551-552 in the original book)

(7) Masahiro Shinoda:Born in Gifu Prefecture on March 9, 1931. Movie director. His wife is Shima Iwashita, actress. His sister-in-law is Momoe Iwashita, artist. Received the Silver Bear Award at the Berlin Film Festival in 1986 for his "Yari no Gonzo (Gonzo the spearman)" (originally written by Monzaemon Chikamatsu) The Japan Academy Prize for the Best Director in 1991 for his "Shōnen jidai (Childhood Days)".

(8) Directed by Masahiro Shinoda, "Setouchi shonen yakyūdan (Setouchi Boys' Baseball Team)" was first shown in June 1984., and received the Foreign Language Film Prize at the Houston Film Festival. The film described the boys in Awaji Island devoting themselves to playing baseball, though puzzled by the change in education policy after the World War II, and the impact of the United States' occupation of Japan from the perspective of the inhabitants of a small, rural island community. The film turned out to be the last film for Masako Natsume. The major cast included Ken Watanabe, Hiromi Go, Shima Iwashita, Shinsuke Shimada, Hideji Otaki, etc. The title in English turned to be "MacArthur's Children" by translating the meaning of the context of the film. The cover of the book by Yu Aku was designed by Tadanori Yokoo, eminent graphic designer & illustrator. Masahiro Shinoda explained in the talk at Jyosai International University commemorating the establishment of Image Art Course in the Department of Media ("Image Course in the Department of Media at Jyosai International University" Hide Murakawa. http://www.jiu.ac.jp/books/bulletin/ 2011/media/murakawa.pdf) as follows:

"Being impressed with the boy jumping in the air, I turned the paper and found the illustration of a profile of MacArthur. Then I thought these boys are children of MacArthur. In fact, this film, "MacArthur's Children", was distributed by Olion Pictures in America, and they asked me how to title the film. I responded right away, "MacArthur's Children", which expressed how the days of the postwar era started, just as in the theme of today' s talk "US-Japan War – Postwar started in this way.", so to speak, the day we became MacArthur's children. (omitted) The film "Setouchi shōnen yakyūdan" was exactly what I have experienced when I was a third year in junior high school at the age of 14; a boy who had experienced the feelings of defeat, of losing his country, and of disappearance of the Emperor's existence, who had to face and accept all of these things through the words "Boys" and "Setouchi". Regarding "Baseball Team", it is said to be Shiki Masaoka, the great haiku composer, who changed the English term "baseball" to a Japanese word, "YAKYU (field ball)". It is said to be a different person who actually translated baseball into Yakyu in Japanese. I understood that in this "Setouchi shōnen Yakyūdan", the Yakyūdan (baseball team) was us under American occupation. This means that we once again follow America, boys obey Americans. It means MacArthur's children and not the Emperor's children or babies. As the babies were changed to children and that was my experience after the war, this is the way I understood the title of the book. I read Yu Aku's book in 1982, and if it were right after the war, I could not have thought that way. Therefore, for me, after 60 years since the defeat in the war, I finally thought of reconstructing postwar Japan within myself." Masahiro Shinoda said that it was his actual experience of being educated by MacArthur when reviewing the American occupation.

(9) Masahiro Shinoda said in the above mentioned talk: "We had unexpected off-season day offs in the fourth grade in junior high school. The city of Gifu has been bombed and burned to the ground. The record shop where my brother and sister used to buy records reopened after the war. Unfamiliar music came out of the shop over the burned ruins. At first, I was wondering what kind of instrument could create such sounds, and then found out that it was Glenn Miller Orchestra's "Moonlight Serenade". It was the SP record at the back of which was "Serenade of Dawn". I was impressed with the wonderful ensemble as if it were played by one instrument. I was truly astonished with America, which was fighting against us with such sound, while we were fighting with such a military song: "Umi yukaba, mizuku kabane,yama yukaba,kusa musu kabane". They occupied our nation with the sound of swing, which was a big shock for me. I was looking down on "Ringo no uta" (song of the apple), the debut song of Hibari Misora, and those kinds of Japanese songs, which were popular at the time. For me as a Japanese, instead of getting back to Japanese songs, it rather understood the situation of occupation through the sound of Glenn Miller. This has two meanings; at the same time, it was the new experience of civilization or culture as Americanism, and it had the power to deny our culture. The brightness of Glenn Miller music was quite different from what we have experienced through military songs etc. and Beethoven and Mozart's music of Germany that we experienced during the Japan-Germany-Italy Alliance, which pressured me down. This meant that we have been occupied and at the same

time, it has been the experience of a new kind of pleasure. Glenn Miller's sound made me realize, in the 1940s, my ambivalent feelings; feelings of defeat and at the same time, feelings of freedom. In the very last scene of the film, the boys, who now became students of junior high school, were studying a phrase in English; "I am an American boy.", which, in our time, was "This is a pen." The theme of the film was truly philosophical. (laugh) However, in the teaching of English language after the war, such political words symbolized by "I am an American boy" were still being used. (omitted) So my ultimate aim is the very last scene of this film. We have become MacArthur's children. At present there is no Japanese who considers Okinawa a part of our territory, and America should protect us for sure. While we Japanese are off guard because the US-Japan Security Treaty backs up Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution, we forget to guard and protect Okinawa, our country. Last autumn, at the film festival in New York, I had a chance to speak in a session specially featuring myself. In America, it was the time of presidential elections, people had the democracy to appoint Obama, a black person, the President of the United States , but in Japan, in Okinawa, when the candidate who put up the slogan that we did not need a US military base won the election, and America ignored the result. If America does not accept the result of this election in Okinawa, then it is not really a country of democracy. I received applause when I said to the audience; "If America heard the result of this election in Okinawa, and decided to disestablish the US base in Futenma, we Japanese would fight with you in a war at the risk of our lives." Even up to now, America considers itself as dominating country when outside of the border. Can you show the last scene of the film? ... (the rest of the speech omitted)

(10) Haruki Murakami, "Afterword" of his first music review *"Imiganakereba swing wa nai*" (2008 Bunshun Bunko) p. 337

(11) Haruki Murakami, "Brian Wilson – *Minami California shinwano sōshitsu to saisei (Loss of South California Myth and Recovery)"* (same as above (10)) p. 43

(12) "*Special feature article – Long Interview of Haruki Murakami"* ("The Thinker" Seasonal Magazine 2011 Summer Edition, Shinchōsha) p. 74

(13) Yoshiaki Sato, scholar in American literature, ex-Professor at Tokyo University, majoring in American literature, thought, and popular music. He has written; *"Rabā souru no hazumikata (How Rubber Soul bounces) -from the Beatles to Science of 'Time"*(1989 Iwanami Shoten), *"J-pop sinkaron(Evolution Theory of J-POP) -from 'Yosakoi bushi' to 'Automatic*'"(1999 Heibonsha Shinsho),"*Ritoru Charo(Little Charo) Complete Edition Vol.1-3"* (Scenario in English, jointly written with Reiko Kuki) (2008-2009 NHK Publishing) (Ref. Annotation (3) Writer & Wikipedia)

(14) "Rock Pioneers & Pop Favorites (1955-1969) – When Rock meant Youth, and Youth meant Freedom" written by Yoshiaki Sato (same as in Annotation (3)) "Since about 1965, when the generation born after the War became college students, the movement, when folk songs called in the beat and rock aimed toward art, began. (omitted) If we recall, the miracle time covered a period in the late 60's when all the

meaningful bands like the Beatles and the Rolling Stones were doing something new at whenever they released new albums. (omitted) Of course, this is a myth, and the statistical truth is a little different. If we look at the hit music of 60's, (omitted) these years were full of shameful songs. Those were the songs that came out of the radio on the beach together with "Get Back", "Honky Tonk Women" etc., moving the heart and body of the teenagers all over the world who could not yet afford to buy LP records. That was time the youth was united, youth whose innocence would never come back.

(15) In *"Muteki no Sazan- ōru- sutāzu (Invincible Southern All Stars)"* by Ryu Murakami (Keisuke Kuwata's *"Tada no kasha jya neika,konnamon (It's only just words of a song, these are!)"* 1984 Shincho Bunko), says; "thanks to the hard work of Fathers and Mothers, Japan recovered and most of them could drink a glass of beer before dinner." "(omitted) Drink beer. Good!" (omitted) "What a beautiful dress! Bought! So happy!" Such simple things are the essence of POP. (Omitted) Important feelings are expressed here. Therefore, POP ispowerful. POP sells well. All the expressions will be POP." p. 255~256 He stresses that POP moves people's hearts and gives them hope by explaining; "Keisuke Kuwata's strong belief is in the beat, in his talent to find the right words to go with it. S-san could have been more hopeful if he knew such a man appeared in Japan, too. Songs cannot create a revolution, but they are powerful enough to stop suicide." p. 258

(16) Same as Annotation (12)

(17) Same as Annotation (12) p.65 "Recently I am running, listening to an unreasonable amount of music; after Lady GAGA, the Peanuts, etc. It is just so awful."

(18) *"Murakami Haruki no ongaku zukan"("Illustrated Guide for Haruki Murakami's Music")* by Keita Konishi (1998 Japan Mix)

(19) *"Chapter 5 Haruki Murakami and 'Music after 80's" ("Haruki Murakami o ongaku de yomitoku (Read and Solve Haruki Murakami with music)"*, supervised by Yuichiro Kurihara 2010 Nippon Bungeisha)

The survey by Kurihara:

"Hear the Wind Sing" = 24

"Pinball, 1973" = 25

"Hard Boiled Wonderland and the End of the World" = 63

"Norwegian Wood" = 81

"Dance Dance Dance" = 177

"South of the Border, West of the Sun" = 21

"Wind-Up Bird Chronicle" = 51

"Sputnik Sweetheart" = 35

"Kafka on the Shore" = 47

"After Dark" = 21

"1Q84"(Book 1~3) = 44 (so far p.150~151)

Also, by pointing out that before and after "Dance Dance Dance", there is an another decrease in the proportion of rock and pop, he compares

[Rock & POP] vs.[Jazz, Classic, and others] as follows:

"Hear the Wind Sing" = 16:8
"Pinball, 1973" = 12:13
"A Wild Sheep Chase" = 18:12
"Hard Boiled Wonderland and the End of the World" = 33:30
"Norwegian Wood" = 49:32
"Dance Dance Dance" = 149:30
"South of the Border, West of the Sun" = 1:20 or 5:16 (in case of adding Nat King Cole & Bing Crosby in POPs)
"Wind-Up Bird Chronicle" = 23:28
"Sputnik Sweetheart" = 4:31
"Kafka on the Shore" = 19:28
"After Dark" = 14:7
"1Q84"(Book 1~3) = 9:35 (so far p.152~153)

(20) Same as Annotation (12) p.67

(21) *"Murakami Haruki, Kawai Hayao ni ainiiku (Haruki Murakami goes to see Hayao Kawai)*"(1999 Shinchō Bunko) p. 14

(22) "California Girls", composed by Brian Wilson and lyrics by Mike Love, on the album titled "Summer Days (And Summer Night)" released in July, 1965 by Capital Records. The single was also released at the same time. (same as Annotation (2))

(23) "California Girls" is considered to be frivolous POP, and has the criticism as well as admiration of America. Paul Williams commented: "The words of 'California Girls' are quite good and on top of that, some, with double meanings, are so fanatically patriotic, which makes me irritated." (Paul Williams "*Brian Wilson, and the Beach Boys"* Translated by Tadashi Igarashi 2000 Blues Interactions) p. 186

(24) Haruki Murakami with Anzai izumaru "*Fun, Fun, Fun"(Zō-kō jō no happiendo* 1983CBS-Sony)

"Fun, Fun, Fun" was composed by Brian Wilson & Mike Love, and its words were written by Mike Love in 1964, released in 1964 on the band's album "Shut Down Volume 2". (Capital Records)

"The song was the feature of the album. Prior to the release of album, a hit single "Fun, Fun, Fun" became the best piece of the Beach Boys, full of beat and feelings of drive, perfect harmony, and Mike's lead and Brian's falsetto made an exquisite change during the main part of the song. (omitted) The rise of the Beatles, who possessed a strong harmony, became the biggest menace for the Beach Boys. Their own "Fun, Fun, Fun" has ranked, at the highest, the fifth in the hit chart, because Beatles songs occupied all the ranks from the first to the fourth. " (Same as Annotation (2) p. 24)

(25) *"Dance Dance Dance* (I)" (2011, the 22nd edition Kōdansha Bunko) p. 37

(26) "Born to Lose" by Ray Charles. It was included in the album titled "Modern Sounds in Country & Western", released in 1962. The introduction included strings, similary with film music. With strings and chorus, it is a country ballad sung soulfully. Both words and music written by Frankie Brown and Ted Daffan. The song starts with the words: "All my life I've always been so blue. Born to lose and now I'm losing you."

(27) Haruki Murakami *"Ki o mite mori o mizu (See tree and not seeing the wood) – 'Noruwei no mori' no nazo (The Riddle of 'Norwegian Wood')*" ("New Rudie's Club 3" 1994 Shinko Music) p. 81

(28) *Yasuki Nakayama "Kore ga Beatles da (This is the Beatles!)"* (2003 Kōdansha Gendai Shinsho) P.110

(29) Same as the Annotation (2)

(30) "Pet Sounds" published by Jim Fusilli, which was translated by Haruki Murakami in 2008 and published in Japan by Shinchosha. Haruki Murakami wrote in "Things that God only knows – Afterword by translator" that it should take a while for many to understand the real meaning because, as a fan at the time of release, the sounds were totally different and "Fun, Fun, Fun" was found more enjoyable. The innovative and original song "Pet Sounds" was too difficult to understand."

(31) Same as the Annotation (2) p. 172

(32) Comments on CD "MAGICAL MYSRERY TOUR" by Tomoyuki Kitano (1998 EMI Records Ltd.)

(33) Haruki Murakami said; "The main part of 'Serious Literature' is a description of psychology, which is to write serious matter as such, but it is not fun." About ego he also said: "When I write, sitting at the desk, I change myself into a man who is able to step into a special place. (omitted) It is normal when living on earth, but I probably have a better ability to dig the ground, find something and put it into sentences by grabbing 'that something' at once. (omitted) I have almost no interest in the ego on the ground, and have no intention to write about it," declaring his lack of interest in transparent egos. Same as Annotation (12) p. 66

(34) *"Hitsuji o meguro bōken (A Wild Sheep Chase) I"* (1985 Kōdansha Bunko p. 79~80)

(35) Same as Annotation (25) p. 35

(36) Same as Annotation (27) p. 82

(37) Same as Annotation (21)

Haruki Murakami describes as follows: "Early after I became a writer, the reason why I was looking at something like detachment was simply because I was going to make my standing point clear to myself by putting aside the external value and continuously seeking the side of personal detachment, where I did not mean to write about the 'absence of commitment' simply in the context of 'lack of communication'.

(38) Same as the Annotation (21) p. 18

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Dower, John W. *Embrasing Defeat – Japan in the Wake of World War II* (Trans. Yōichi Miura, Tadaaki Takasugi, Yasuko Tashiro), Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2001.
2. Fusilli, Jim. *Pet Sounds,* (Trans. Haruki Murakami), Japan: Shinchosha, 2008.

3. Konishi, Keita *"Murakami Haruki no ongaku zukan"("Illustrated Guide for Haruki Murakami's Music")*, Japan Mix, 1998.
4. Kurihara, Yuichiro. "*Haruki Murakami and 'Music after 80's" in Haruki Murakami o ongaku de yomitoku (Read and Solve Haruki Murakami with music)"* Tokyo: Nippon Bungeisha , 2010.
5. Murakami Haruki *Hachigatsu no iori – boku no "Hōjyōki"taiken*" Taiyō (Oct., 1981)
6. Murakami, Haruki. *Hitsuji o meguro bōken (A Wild Sheep Chase) I*, Tokyo: Kōdansha Bunko, 1985.
7. Murakami, Haruki *"Ki o mite mori o mizu (See tree and not seeing the wood) –'Noruwei no mori' no nazo (The Riddle of 'Norwegian Wood')*","New Rudie's Club 3", Shinko Music 1994.
8. Murakami, Haruki. *Dance Dance Dance* (I), Tokyo: Kōdansha Bunko, the 22nd edition: 2011.
9. Murakami, Haruki with Izumaru, *Anzai "Fun, Fun, Fun"(Zō-kō jō no happiendo)*, CBS-Sony, 1983.
10. Murakami, Ryu. *Muteki no Sazan- ōru- sutāzu (Invincible Southern All Stars*, Tokyo: Shincho Bunko, 1984.
11. Murakami, Haruki, *Imiganakereba swing wa nai*, Tokyo: Bunshun Bunko, 2008.
12. Murakami, Haruki. *"Brian Wilson – Minami California shinwano sōshitsu to saisei ,(Loss of South California Myth and Recovery)",*Tokyo: Bunshun Bunko, 2008.
13. Murakami, Haruki. "Special feature article – Long Interview of Haruki Murakami" in *The Thinker Seasonal Magazine,* Tokyo: Shinchōsha, Summer Edition 2011.
14. Murakami, Haruki. "The beach Boys" in *Rock People 101*, (Eds.Yoshiaki Sato & Motoyuki Shibata) Tokyo: Shinkoshan, 1995.
15. Nakayama Yasuki. *Kore ga Beatles da (This is the Beatles!)* Tokyo: Kōdansha Gendai Shinsho, 2003.
16. Sato, Yoshiaki. *Rock Pioneers & Pop Favorites (1955-1969) – When Rock meant Youth, and Youth meant Freedom*, Tokyo: Shinkoshan, 1995.
17. Sato, Yoshiaki & Shibata, Motoyuki. *Rock People 101,* Tokyo: Shinshokan, 1995.
18. Tomoyuki, Kitano. *Comments on CD "Magical Mystery Tour*", EMI Records Ltd., 1998.
19. Tsurumi, Shunsuke. "Taishū geijyutsuron rajio bunka (Popular Art Theory – Radio Culture)" in *Genkai geijyutsuron*, Tokyo: Chikuma Gakugei Bunko, 1999.
20. Xiong, He He Sun. *Murakami Haruki, Kawai Hayao ni ainiiku (Haruki Murakami goes to see Hayao Kawai)*, Tokyo: Shinchō Bunko, 1999.

STUDIA UBB PHILOLOGIA, LVIII, 1, 2013, p. 103 - 116
(RECOMMENDED CITATION)

A REFORMATION OF CONFUCIANISM: ANNOTATED TRANSLATION OF THE PREFACES TO THE *PENETRATION OF SPIRITUAL CONFIGURATIVE ENERGY* AND TO THE *RECORDS OF CORRELATIVE REASONING*

WONSUK CHANG[1]

ABSTRACT. ***A Reformation of Confucianism: Annotated Translation of the Prefaces to the Penetration of Spiritual Configurative Energy and to the Records of Correlative Reasoning.*** Ch'oe Han-ki is a Korean Confucian philosopher in the 19th century. His philosophy is the new reformation of Confucianism in the wake of western civilization. While his vocabulary is deeply rooted in Confucian philosophy of *ki*, he employed new cluster of philosophical terms from the vernacular Korean language of his age in order to reformulate new Confucian philosophy. The following is the English language translation of two prefaces to Ch'oe's representative philosophical writings authored in 1836 entitled "*Sin'git'ong"* (神氣通, Penetration of Spiritual Configurative Energy)" and "*Ch'uch'ŭngnok*" (推測錄, The Records of Correlative Reasoning)."

They are noteworthy because they outlined his philosophical arguments in terse yet intensive articles. Major terms used throughout his life works, such as *sin'gi* (神氣, spiritual configurative energy), *ch'uchŭk* (推測, correlative reasoning), *yuhaengchiri* (流行之理, fluid pattern), begin to appear in them.

Keywords: Ch'oe Han-ki, Korean Confucianism, Correlative Reasoning, Configurative Energy, Experience, Human body, Fluid pattern, Translation of Korean Philosophy

REZUMAT. ***O reformă a confucianismului: Traducere adnotată a prefețelor la textele "Pătrunderea energiei spirituale configurative" şi "Însemnări despre judecata corelativă"***. Ch'oe Han-ki este un filosof confucianist coreean din secolul al XIX-lea. Filosofia sa reprezintă noua reformă a confucianismului ca urmare a pătrunderii civilizației occidentale. Vocabularul său este adânc înrădăcinat în filosofia confucianistă a energiei *ki*, dar în acelaşi timp a folosit un grup nou de termeni filosofici vernaculari din

[1] Wonsuk Chang is Senior Researcher at the Academy of Korean Studies, the Republic of Korea. He is the author and editor of *Confucianism in Context: Classic Philosophy and Contemporary Issues, East Asia and beyond* (with Leah Kalmanson, 2010). His articles on comparative philosophy, Chinese philosophy, Korean philosophy, and related translations including "Ch'oe Han-gi's Confucian Philosophy of Experience: New Names for Old Ways of Thinking" (2012), "Resolution to Become a Sage: An Annotated Translation of the *Chagyŏngmun"* (with Lukas Pokorny, 2011), "Reflections on Time and related ideas in the *Yijing* (2009)", have appeared in the *Philosophy East and West, Studia Orientalia Slovaca* and various journals. E-mail: wnskchng@gmail.com.

epoca sa pentru a reformula noua filosofie confucianistă. Următorul text este o traducere în limba engleză a celor două prefețe la scrierile filosofice reprezentative ale lui Ch'oe, scrise în 1836 şi intitulate "*Sin'git'ong"* (神氣通, Pătrunderea energiei spirituale configurative)" and "*Ch'uch'ŭngnok*" (推測錄, Însemnări despre judecata corelativă). Acestea sunt remarcabile pentru că au conturat argumentele filosofice ale autorului în fragmente succinte, dar concentrate. Termeni majori folosiți în întreaga sa operă, precum *sin'gi* (神氣, energie spirituală configurativă), *ch'uchŭk* (推測, judecată corelativă), *yuhaengchiri* (流行之理, model fluid), încep să apară în aceste texte.

Cuvinte-cheie: Ch'oe Han-ki, confucianism coreean, judecată corelativă, energie configurativă, experiență, corp uman, model fluid, traducere din filosofia coreeană

1. Introduction

1.1. Historical Context

Ch'oe Han-ki (崔漢綺, 1803-1877) was a Confucian philosopher and prolific writer in the late Chosŏn period. His close contemporaries were cartographer and explorer Kim Chŏng-ho (金正浩, ?-1866) and encyclopedist Yi Kyu-kyŏng (李圭景 1788-1856).[2] Living in the city of Hanyang, the capital of the Chosŏn, he committed himself to reading and authoring books extensively whose topics were extended from philosophical treatises, technique of human assessment, agricultural technology, and to western sciences and civilization. Nowadays 100 fascicles remain small part of over 1,000 reported works. He never took up a governmental position.

He was a reformed Confucian who distinguished his philosophical position from not only Chosŏn's predominant Neo-Confucianism, but also Wang Yangming school. The 16th century Korean Confucianism can be characterized as a series of debates, the Four-Seven Debates and Debates over the similarity or difference of natural disposition among humans and animal/things, in which many Confucian scholars involved and through which schools proliferated. Yet he did not see them as having contributed to the development of Confucianism and great value as the debate itself. His philosophy may reflect a gradual loss of grip on orthodox Neo-

[2] Ch'oe authored the preface to Kim's *Ch'ŏnggudo*(靑丘圖, The Map of Korea) a pioneering cartographic work and Yi Kyu-kyŏng referred him as a bibliophile in his encyclopedia *Ojuyŏnmunjangjŏn-san'go* (五洲衍文長箋散稿, Scattered Manuscripts of Random Expatiation of Oju). He had relatively few colleagues among not only Neo-Confucian elites but also emerging Confucian literati called pragmatic scholars (sirhakcha). Few articles referring him are available in his contemporary documents. Yi Kŏn-ch'ang (李建昌, 1852-1889) wrote a short biography of him in the *Scattered Writings of Yi Kŏn-ch'ang* (明美堂散稿, Myŏngmidang Sango).

Confucianism and the emergence of new ways of thinking in 19th century Chosŏn while his ideas are unique, even among emerging Confucian thinkers.[3]

He thought the onset of Western civilization marked a turning point for the Confucian tradition from which new forms of Confucianism, incorporating western scientific knowledge and practice, could emerge. He had a positive evaluation of the achievement of western science and adamantly rejected Christianity. He had a firm belief in laying the ground for new study in comparative inquiries in both philosophical and cultural traditions. The motive of his numerous writings may derive from his attempt to bring this new form of Confucianism to the fore, which he later called the Study of Configurative Energy.

1.2. Philosophical Themes

The following is the English language translation of two prefaces to his representative philosophical writings authored in 1836 entitled "*Sin'git'ong''* (神氣通, Penetration of Spiritual Configurative Energy)" and "*Ch'uch'ŭngnok*" (推測錄, The Records of Correlative Reasoning)."[4]

They are noteworthy because they outlined his philosophical arguments in terse yet intensive articles. Major terms used throughout his life works, such as *sin'gi* (神氣, spiritual configurative energy), *ch'uchŭk* (推測, correlative reasoning), *yuhaengchiri* (流行之理, fluid pattern), begin to appear in them.

His Confucian philosophy is immune to complicated debates of moral psychology in Neo-Confucian hermeneutics. Instead he employed a novel cluster of philosophical vocabulary appropriated from his contemporary vernacular languages and uses of them in order to reformulate traditional Confucian ideas. They are *ch'uchŭk* 推測, *kyŏnghŏm* (經驗, to experience), *chŭnghŏm* (證驗, to prove), and *hŏmsi* (驗試, to experiment) and so on. For example, he argued the term *ch'uchŭk* is nothing but a new expression of classical terms like the way of gauging from correlation (絜矩之道) in the *Daxue* or the ability to see the patterns and derive understanding

[3] There has been intriguing arguments over nature of *sirhak* (實學) in the Korean academia recently. While majority of scholars have used the term *sirhak* (pragmatic studies) or *sirhakcha* (pragmatic Confucian scholars) designating for a group of Confucian literati who assumed to share characteristics of anti-Neo-Confucianism and orientation to modernity out of medieval obscurantism, the criticism points that idea of *sirhak* as modern or near-modern philosophy is imposing concept of later historians who modeled after western stage theory of modernization whether it is that Rostow's stage of growth or Marx's stages of historical materialism which is never known to Confucians and irrelevant to Confucian understanding of history. I argue that prominent interpreters influenced by this neat time division of modern and pre-modern, viewing Choe as forerunner of the modernity often ironically fail to understand his philosophy adequately and degenerate him from living philosopher to historical curiosity.

[4] I translated these texts from photolithographic edition in the Book 1 of *Chŭngbo Myŏngnamnuch'ongsŏ* (Enlarged Collected Writings of Ch'oe Han-ki), (Seoul: Sungkyunkwan University Press, 2002). In translating, I also consulted modern Korean language translation of these works. *Kich'ŭkch'eŭi* , translated by Yi Chongsool, Chŏng Hyŏn t'ak et al. (Seoul: Minjok munhwa ch'ujinhoe)

of complex situations(觀, 察) in the *Zhouyi*. He adopted new vocabulary because he wanted to maintain a safe distance from the method and content of the traditional Confucianism in order to reform the Confucianism appropriate for his period, one of intimate contact between East and West. He understood his philosophy as new names for old ways of Confucian thinking.

1.2.1 Configurative Energy, Human body and Penetration

He argued that spiritual configurative energy, or configurative energy (神氣, 氣), is the psycho-physical stuff that comprises all things and events. The human body, born from the configurative energy, has the capability to experience and figure out things and events by exercising correlative reasoning. Through knowing and appropriating the efficacious by categorizing and discriminating between things and events, humans come to regulate and use things, situations, and themselves well. This is the state of recovered equilibrium, which he called "penetration of configurative energy (神氣通)." As this world is always in flux, humans always encounter new situations needing to be resolved. That is to say, there is a continuous need for attainment of equilibrium.

In this process, human sense organs (諸竅 various apertures, 諸觸 various touches) or body (形體) are significant instruments, without which we cannot sense or achieve appropriate relationship with things and events. In this regard, he dismissed a priori philosophies that argue ethical ideas are ready-made in the mind and thus making human sense-organs, experience and correlative process unnecessary. Human body is a shape through which cosmic energy is channeled. A certain *modus operandi* is formed giving its tendency to voluntary character. Referring to this tendency to bring about overt action, Ch'oe employs the notion of habit (習染). Habit as enduring but pliant force is the pivotal force with which humans can engage, adjusting for and coordinates whole processes.

1.2.2. Correlative Reasoning

One of his contributions was to bring correlative reasoning to the foreground of the Confucian tradition. Correlative reasoning is the exploration of the fount of experience and gauging particular events in reference to source experience. For instance, if one experiences care and filial duty with their parents, then he or she can extend these experiences in building relationship with new persons and events, thus achieving a more orderly, rich experience through adaptation and adjustment. Following his own account, correlative reasoning is to look closely into traditions, examine them in reference to circumstance of his day, test them in relation to ordinary affairs, and investigate them in reference to the order of things and events. He argued this way of reasoning has been an integral part of the Confucian tradition. Yet, he also rehabilitated it by introducing the newly-coined philosophical term *ch'uchŭk*. This term consists of two interrelated activities, *ch'u* (推), which means "to draw on, to refer to, to imagine" and *chŭk* (測) which means "to estimate, to judge, to gauge."

The process of correlative reasoning is focusing awareness to keep equilibrium amid the push and pull of part and whole. It is to understand the small in terms of the gigantic. It is to understand stillness in reference to movement. In the same manner, he distinguishes correlative reasoning in the heart-and-mind from the fluid patterns of heaven. While the two are mutually entailing, the part, correlative reasoning in human mind, should be ameliorated in the light of ever-widening whole, fluid patterns. While the two patterns correspond dynamically, we experience coherence of the two realms, that is, we attain proper understanding. Otherwise, it is impossible to understand since part and whole move apart.

The fluid pattern is source of our modesty, which is impossible to comprehend completely. Yet, correlative reasoning as the epistemology of modesty is neither an expression of pessimistic nor agnostic, but instead an affirmation of human capability to learn and ameliorate continuously in a processual world.

2. Text and Annotated Translation

神氣通序[崔漢綺]
Preface to *The Penetration of Spiritual Configurative energy*

天民形體。乃備諸用。通神氣之器械也。目爲顯色之鏡。耳爲聽音之管。鼻爲嗅香之筒。口爲出納之門。手爲執持之器。足爲推運之輪。總載於一身。而神氣爲主宰。

The human body is born of the heavens and has diverse functions. These are instruments by which spiritual configurative energy is penetrated. The eye is a mirror that reflects color; the ears are vessels that hear; the nose is a tube that smells; the mouth is a door through which coming and going alternate; the hand is a tool that holds and sustains; and the foot is a wheel that climbs and rolls. All these are well equipped in the body that is controlled by spiritual configurative energy.

從諸竅諸觸。而收聚人情物理。習染於神氣。及其發用。積中之人情物理。從諸竅諸觸而施行。卽踐形之大道也。

One encounters human situations and patterns of events through the various apertures and touches. By doing this, spiritual configurative energy is conditioned into one's habits and they become available. That is, accumulated patterns of situations and things in the human person become manifest and prevail through the various apertures and senses. This is the great way of fulfilling the body consummately[5].

色從目通而天下之色。皆爲神氣之用。聲從耳通而天下之聲。皆爲神氣之用。臭味諸觸。具通於口鼻手足。而事物之運動。皆爲神氣之用。

[5] The *Mencius* 7 A38. "The body and complexion is disposed by heavens: Only sage can give one's body consummate. 孟子曰, 形色，天性也；惟聖人，然後可以踐形。"

Only through the eyes do colors in the world become available to us with spiritual configurative energy. Only through the ears do sounds in the world become available to us with spiritual configurative energy. When smells, tastes, and sensations become available through the nose, mouth, hands and feet, then the activity of all events and things becomes available to us with spiritual configurative energy.

閱歷經驗。推移變通。源於形體。委於事物。若不修明發用之源。何以整頓發用之委哉。

All of life history, experiences, transitional changes, and creative adaptations begin from one's body and end in events and things. Without cultivating and making use of the beginning, how can we regulate and make use of the end?

蓋人稟天地之氣。父母之質而生。目視耳聽。鼻嗅口味。手持足行。渴飮飢食。乃形體所具之用。雖昏愚蠢動。皆能行之。是天生之使通也。

Humans are endowed with the configurative energy of the heavens and earth and born with qualities from their of parents. Seeing with the eyes, hearing with the ears, smelling with the nose, tasting with the mouth, grasping with the hands, walking with the feet, drinking when one is thirsty, and eating when hungry; these functions are native to the body. Even unimportant beings are endowed by the heavens with the ability to carry out such natural functions.

就其所通。積累測驗。祛浮華而存精實。除晦昧而擇光明。人之平生事業。惟在見聞閱歷。分開善惡利害而勸懲事物。測得淺近者。不如深遠。偏僻者。不如公共。念所用而收貯。推所貯而發用。如斯而已。更無他道。

Based on natural functions endowed by heavens, one gains correlative experience. In doing this, one should remove what is futile and preserve what is fruitful; remove obscurity and strive to be acute. One's lifelong business is nothing but encouraging and discouraging people by discriminating good from evil, the beneficial from the harmful in what one hears, observes, and experiences.

With this correlative reasoning, what is shallow and limited is not as good as what is profound and far-reaching. What is closed and partial is not good as public and communal living.

We have to receive and accumulate experience in anticipation of future use; and, in turn, making use of ourselves in reference to what we receive and accumulate. There is no other way.

欲過於此而究竟天地人物。所以然之理。涉於虛無而多不可知。縱能說道而舌敝。孰使之信也。又欲後於此而固必禍福吉凶。竟符應之理。人事時運。變幻無常。猶難諶斯。況復見聞絲鬮之後乎。

If one goes beyond this and inquires into rationale of the natural and human worlds, this is to enter into the realm of useless and become agnostic. Then how can even exhaustive remarks persuade people to trust? Even though one goes past this and pursues the deterministic laws of good and bad fortune and tallies patterns, temporal changes of human events are provisional and inconstant. It is quite daunting even to know this life. How many more events are after the end of experience?

掃除前後過度之學踰越之術。自有眞正大道可循之軌.
捨此耳目口鼻手足諸觸。有何一毫可得之理可驗之事乎。雖有此諸竅諸觸。若無神氣之記繹經驗。平生屢聞數見之事物。皆是每每初聞見之事物也。

If all studies that have gone astray are eliminated, the authentic great method can pursue the normal course on its own accord. Without the ears, eyes, mouth, nose, hands, feet, and various touches, how could we get even a small particle of good sense or a single moment of experience?

However, though there may be various apertures and touches, things and events observed and heard during an entire life, they will be ever unfamiliar if the spiritual configurative energy that remembers, investigates, and experiences does not exist.

雖有此諸竅諸觸。及神氣記繹。若無參酌物我。臨機變通。泥古之歎。無權之譏。烏得免也。

And even though there may be various apertures, touches, and spiritual configurative energy that remembers and investigates, one will not avoid being lamented and laughed at for adhering to old customs and inflexibility if one fails to practice creative adaptation when considering changing relationships between self and things.

雖得諸竅諸觸神氣之收聚發用。無有欠缺。若或以無用無實不可知不可驗者。涉於其間。使非純一也。念到于此。尙恐不逮。何暇及他。語其知識收聚。刱業功臣也。語其須臾不離。左右輔弼也。

So, though there may be various apertures, touches, as well as the collection and utilization of spiritual configurative energy, one would not achieve continuity if useless, vacuous, unknowable, and unverifiable things are involved. Thinking of this, I am afraid that I may not attain this. How do I have leisure to mention other issues? In acquiring and collecting knowledge, it is active like meritorious servants. In keeping these without any leave, it is preserving like attendant advisers.

專攻心學之人。以諸竅諸觸爲卑屑。而貪究性命之理。淸淨守眞之人。以視聽爲耗精。而甘作聾瞽之事。醫書辨說。以發外之疾病。附會於臟腑穴脈。相書所言。以形局色態。欲占窮達壽夭。俱未免乎過不及之差也。

Students of the heart-and-mind teachings consider the various apertures and touches to be unimportant and of no use. All they investigate are the so-called patterns of natural disposition and the decree of heaven. Those who cherish clarity and purity, who strive to guard their essence, wish to keep themselves clear and pure down to the very core of their beings, believe that their purity is sullied by the acts of observing and hearing. They dare to assume they are deaf and blind. Some doctors forcibly attribute external diseases to the inner organs or the six bodily life veins based on diagnoses from medical books. Furthermore, people should not read physiognomic shapes, types, complexions or attitudes to predict their wealth or life expectancy; in doing so, they cannot avoid the fallacies of excess and deficiency.

耳目口鼻。豈徒爲耳目口鼻。必有函體之神氣。通於耳目口鼻。爲神氣之耳目口鼻。推達於天地人物所同之聲色臭味。內外相應。彼此參驗。

Are the ears, eyes, mouth, and nose merely external organs? There must be lived-body with spiritual configurative energy; which is to say, once ears, eyes, mouths, and noses are penetrated by spiritual configurative energy they become those of spiritual configurative energy. If one makes correlative reasoning of colors, smells, and tastes between the heavens, the earth, and humans, then resonance between inside and outside, conjoined experience between this and that, will ensue.

取於人以爲善。擇諸物以爲用。原無法而有法。自有法而無方。

If one achieves efficacy by appropriating from others and makes use of things and events by adopting from them, then disorder would become orderliness and orderliness would become unrestricted.

通與不通。變與不變。先使瞭然分開。以所通推測其不通。以不變推測其變。如形之於影。聲之於響。柯則在邇。障遮不遠。

Distinguish the known from the unknown, the changing from the unchanging. Then one is able to estimate the unknown from the known and the unchanging from the changing.

This is like how shadows follow shapes, or how two sounds resonate with each other. As the model of axe handle is near, so is obstruction.[6]

其所通達。不過大略斟酌。難得盡其曲節。若捨形體之所通。而求通於人物。又捨人物之所通。而惟究於虛影疏光。乃成德之人。氣質昏耗。近死者之所爲也。非睿學將進任重致遠者之所爲也。

Aforementioned is nothing but a brief sketch and to know exhaustive details is difficult. Yet, if one seeks to know humans and things without bodily experience or inquire into vacuous shadow or flickering light without experiences between humans and things, such behavior is only done by those confused and weary near death. It is not for those scholars who would bear heavy charge and walk a long way.[7]

是以。有是器者。捨是器而求用。則乃非是器之爲用也。用與不用。何關於是器。

Therefore, if those who have bodily instruments seek something useful without them, then it is not the use of bodily instruments. Whatever use there may be, how is this relevant to the bodily instruments?

---

[6] In the *Guofeng* 國風 of the *Shijung,* "In hewing an axe-handle, in hewing an axe-handle, the model is not far off. 伐柯伐柯、其則不遠" In the 13 chapter of the *Zhongyong,* the passage is quoted in order to clarify the idea of "putting oneself to the place of others (恕)" the method of creating isomorphic configuration of experience.

[7] In the *Analects* 8/7, "The Master Zheng said, 'Confucian literati cannot but be strong and resolved, for they bear a heavy charge and their way is long. Where they take associate humanity as their charge, is it not a heavy one? And their way ends only in death, is it not indeed long? 曾子曰, 士不可以不弘毅，任重而道遠。仁以爲己任，不亦重乎？死而後已，不亦遠乎？'"

有形體者,捨形體而求學。則乃非形體之爲學也。學與不學。無關於形體。索隱行怪。由此而興。故用以器械爲本。學以形體爲本。

If those who have body seek to learn without using their bodies, then they are not learning for their own person. Whatever learning there may be, it is not relevant to one's own person. All this will lead one to search for what is something obscure and weird.

Therefore, the bodily instrument should be at the root of how one makes use of things and the body should be at the root of how one learns.

道光丙申仲秋。崔漢綺書于舸山海景樓

August in lunar calendar Byŏngsin year under the rule of Daoguang (A.D.1836)

Ch'oe Han-ki authors at the Kasan haegyŏng Pavilion

推測錄序[崔漢綺]
Preface to *The Records of Correlative Reasoning*

繼天而成之爲性。率性而習之爲推。因推而量之爲測。

To consummate what is continuous from heaven is a natural disposition. To make a habit of regulating natural disposition is to draw on them. To gauge according to what is drew upon is to estimate.[8]

推測之門。自古蒸民所共由之大道也。然推得其宜測亦有方。推失其宜。測亦失宜。失宜處變推改測。得宜處闡明源委。以建中正之標準.
過此則歸於虛妄。不及則陷於鄙塞。

From ancient times, the practice of correlative reasoning has been a great way followed by all people. Therefore, if to draw on it is appropriate, then to estimate will be proper. If to draw on it is not appropriate, then neither is to estimate. If there is inappropriateness, then one should change what one is drawing on and revise estimation accordingly. If there is appropriateness, then one can have a standard of equilibrium and orderliness illuminating the beginnings and ends of events. If there is excess, one will regress into futility. If there is deficiency, one will fall into stubbornness.

粤自太昊[9]。仰觀天。俯察地。近取身。遠取物[10]。卽洞宙達宇。推測之宗詮也

[8] This passage reminds me of the first chapter of the *Zhongyong*. "What heavens command is called natural disposition. Drawing out these dispositions is called proper way. Improve upon this way is called education. 天命之謂性，率性之謂道，修道之謂教"

[9] *Daihao* is an another term for *Baoxi* (伏羲) who is said to create the eight trigrams.

[10] In the *Xici* 2-2 of the *Zhouyi*, we read, "Ancient time, when *Baoxi* had ruled all under heaven, looking up, he observed the brilliant images of the sky, and looking down he figure out contours of the earth... Near at hand, in his own person, he appropriated the gist, and in the same manner at a distance, he appropriated the efficacious in the things and events. On this, he created the eight trigrams. 古者包犧氏之王天下也，仰則觀象於天，俯則觀法於地...近取諸身，遠取諸物，於是始作八卦..

In antiquity, *Tai Hao* looked up to the heavens and down to the earth and understood time and mastered space directly through his own person and indirectly from things and events. All this explains the nature of correlative reasoning.

格物也絜矩　　至於大學之亦爲萬世之施教。而必稽之于前修。參之于當時。驗之於日用。考之於物則。以開來學之門路。後之究諸斯者。應損其勞。而鮮能順物理而循軌。常多將己見而排撰。以虛影爲眞形。以名像爲實蹟。得不足以償其失。言愈高而道愈卑。齗齗辯爭。靡定攸届。將何以返其本而立其道哉。

The ideas “investigation of things” and “gauging through correlation” mentioned in *The Great Learning*[11]are made for the education of the following generations. They meant to look closely into traditions, examine them in reference to the circumstances of his day, test them against ordinary daily affairs, and investigate them in reference to the order of things and events. By this the ancients paved the way for future scholars. Those who followed the ancients should have been relieved of their burdens. But in reality they are rare who can adapt to the patterns of things and events, pursuing the natural courses of events. There are many who distort the nature of things with their narrow views. They take vacuous shadows to be genuine and external appearances to be solid. What they gain does not compensate for what they lose. The nobler their remarks become, the cruder their philosophies become. As fierce debates are not to be settled, how can they let ways to stand up through rehabilitating their root?

蓋天氣流行之理。在物各有攸當。原無增減。能窮格此理者。卽人心之推測。而有善不善誠不誠。然是亦不可不謂之理也。擧其流行推測符合者。理是一也。在於流行推測不合者。此理彼理。完然有跡。若於理不知虛實之有異。善不善無擇取之方。誠不誠有渾淆之弊。

The fluid patterns of configurative energy of heaven are prefigured in each thing and event and neither increases nor decreases. The correlative reasoning of the human heart-and-mind is figuring out these patterns. It can be efficacious or inefficacious, sincere or insincere. Therefore, we cannot only consider them as invariably patterned. When the fluid patterns correspond with human correlative reasoning dynamically, then both patterns resonate with each other thoroughly. When the fluid patterns do not correspond with human correlative reasoning, then one pattern becomes utterly separated from the other. If we do not distinguish genuine patterns from vacuous ones there would not be a way of discriminating the efficacious from the inefficacious or sincerity from insincerity.

竊想古聖只將心與物做功夫。後學亦將心與物做功夫。則心與物無異於古今 而惟心之所推。自有誠僞之不同, 所測亦從而分焉。

I think ancient sages cultivated their own persons, regulated their own heart-and-minds and examined things and events and subsequent scholars did the

[11] See The *Daxue* chapter 2, chapter12

same. While there is no difference between the ancients and the subsequent scholars in their use of heart-and-mind and things and events for cultivation, the degrees of sincerity in drawing on them are not the same and their estimations go in the different directions accordingly.

須令頓除古人緒論而究諸實。亦將古人緒論而明其義。特擧聖凡之所同。人物之交濟。本末之無違。大小之相資。無有欠闕。而一言括之者。以闡推測之號。自其統體言之。有平生之推測。自其用處言之。有隨時之推測。

One should reveal what ancient people implied and inquired into as the crux of the question. Then one would reach the meaning of what ancient people alluded to. In order to express the inquiries similarly to the sage and common people, mutual interactions of humans and things, coherence of root and branch, and mutual entailing of the microcosm and macrocosm thoroughly in a brief term, I give it a name of correlative reasoning. From the standpoint of wholeness, there is correlative reasoning through life. From the standpoint of temporal uses, there is correlative reasoning fit to times.

夫推測之道。固常自在。人能遵行而不失其道。其道未嘗許其得。而惟於心是安爾。人或遵行而失其道。其道亦未嘗譏其失。而惟於心自有不安爾。安與不安。豈待行而後決。亦豈使過而便忘.

The way of correlative reasoning has intrinsic value. When humans practice this way without losing it, though it is not the way that allows humans to keep it, human heart-and-mind are satisfied. When humans practice and lose it, though the way has not treated humans with contempt for losing it, the human heart-and-mind is not satisfied. How can satisfaction or dissatisfaction be the consequences of waiting and deciding or going astray and forgetting?

惟在推氣而測理。推情而測性。推動而測靜。推己而測人。推物而測事。今日明日。至于積累。使微者著。著者通。則推測與流行。自然合爲一理。虛影在傍而轉移。風波自外而起滅。

We estimate patterns only in reference to configurative energy. We estimate natural disposition only in reference to emotions. We estimate stillness only in reference to movement. We can estimate others in reference to ourselves. We can estimate events in reference to things. What we practice during our ordinary daily affairs becomes cumulative. This accumulation enables the inchoate to become manifest. Finally, this manifestation becomes penetrating. As a consequence, patterns of correlative reasoning and fluid patterns spontaneously match each other and become a coherent whole. Vacuous shadows are marginalized and become ordered. Turmoil and confusion are set aside and perish.

茲錄推測。以冀究道者有可尋之緒。守道者有不可捨之方。若輕重方圓之於權衡規矩。

I write about correlative reasoning hoping it will be a clue for those who seek for ways and an indispensable method for those want to sustain ways, as if rulers and scales are necessary for those weighing and measuring.

道光丙申仲春。浿東崔漢綺。書于惠崗幽居。

February in lunar calendar of Byŏngsin year rule under the Daoguang emperor (A.D.1836)

Penname P'aedong Ch'oe Han-ki authors at the humble dwelling.

3. Glossary

氣

Ki is one of the most important terms in the East Asian tradition that has been rendered as vital force (Chan), material force (Bodde), breath, vitality (Graham). Though they are viable equivalents of *ki* in a variety of contexts, I chose to follow Manfred Porkert and James Behuniak Jr. in translating the term as "the configurative energy". This translation is especially relevant to Ch'oe's understanding of *ki* as a psycho-physical energy that has configuration or shape (形). This translation helps one to understand that *ki* is energy that configures experience continuously. In this context, human shape or body is nothing but a configuration penetrated by this energy to generate isomorphic experience in interaction with environing forces.

經驗

Kyŏnghŏm is rendered as "experience". This term is widely used throughout traditional Korean documents beginning from fourteenth century and continuing into the nineteenth, but was without any philosophical import. Yet Ch'oe consecrated the term a philosophically significance by using it over two hundred times in his two writings, the *Sin'git'ong and* the *Ch'uch'ŭngnok.* This term is aligned within the Confucian worldview of the configurative energy rather than British empiricism. For Ch'oe, experience is acquired as ongoing emergent process of configurative energy patterned in a correlative way. Accrued experience enables the person to attain virtuosity and to respond to the circumstances in the most efficacious manner.[12]

推測

In most instances, I translate this term as "correlative reasoning", because I agree with Choe's argument that this art of focusing the particular event in reference to the field is deeply entrenched in the Confucian tradition. Reasoning should be understood in the broadest term. If readers take reasoning as deductive or inductive thinking as found in the Western philosophic tradition, it is misleading. Actually *ch'uchŭk* entails extensive activity of the heart-and-mind to think, feel, understand, figure out, imagine, estimate, judge and act. The meaning of the term *ch'uchŭk* in modern Korean usages as "having an opinion without sufficient evidence" is of little

[12] For details, see my "Ch'oe Han-gi's Confucian Philosophy of Experience: New Names for Old Ways of Thinking." *Philosophy East & West* Volume 62, Number 2 April 2012 p.186-196.

relevance to Ch'oe's usage of the term in the 19th century. Between Choe's era and contemporary Korea, an inrush of new vocabulary from western language, much of which was due to Meiji era intellectuals, altered the terrain of meaning and vocabulary of traditional philosophy. We should grasp the meanings of terms in Ch'oe's corpus without importing newly translated terms or modern significances in today's East Asian languages.

善

Sŏn is rendered here into "being efficacious" or "being good." When we read *Sŏnsa* 善射 denotes being adept in archery, it indicates achieved casual efficacy in relations among the self, the instrument, and the target rather than the good in and of itself. As Roger Ames put it, this term is radically contextual and first and foremost "felicity" or "efficacy." [13] Probably most close modern Korean term to it is adverb *chal* which means "be good at" "be adept in." Thus not-adept *Pulsŏn* 不 善 is inefficacy and only derivatively means evil.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Primary Sources

Ch'oe Han-ki (崔漢綺), Chŭngbo Myŏngnamnuch'ongsŏ (增補 明南樓 叢書, Enlarged Collected Writings of Ch'oe Han-ki), (Seoul: Sungkyunkwan University Press, 2002)
Daxue 大學
Lunyu 論語
Mencius 孟子
Shijing 詩經
Yi Kyu-kyŏng 李圭景, *Ojuyŏnmunjangjŏn-san'go* (五洲衍文長箋散稿, Scattered Manuscripts of Random Expatiation of Oju)
Zhongyong 中庸
Zhouyi 周易

2. Secondary Sources

Ch'oe Han-ki, *Kich'ŭkch'eŭi* 氣測體義, translated by Yi Chongsool, Chŏng Hyŏn t'ak et al. (Seoul: Minjok munhwa ch'ujinhoe)
Chuang-Tzu: Inner Chapters. Translated by Angus C. Graham (Glasgow: HarperCollins, 1991)

[13] Roger T. Ames and David L. Hall, *Focusing the Familiar: A Translation and Philosophical Interpretation of the Zhongyong* (Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press, 2001) p. 76

James Behuniak Jr., *Mencius on Becoming Human*, (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2005)

Manfred Porkert, *Theoretical Foundations of Chinese Medicine: Systems of Correspondence.* (MIT Press, 1978)

Roger T. Ames and David L. Hall, *Focusing the Familiar: A Translation and Philosophical Interpretation of the Zhongyong* (Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press, 2001)

Wing-Tsit Chan, *A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963)

Wonsuk Chang, "Ch'oe Han-gi's Confucian Philosophy of Experience: New Names For Old Ways of Thinking." *Philosophy East &West,* Volume 62, Number2 April 2012

Yu-Lan Fung, A *History of Chinese Philosophy*. Translated by Derk Bodde. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969)

STUDIA UBB PHILOLOGIA, LVIII, 1, 2013, p. 117 - 126
(RECOMMENDED CITATION)

HAYACHINE-KAGURA – AN EXQUISITE BOUQUET OF DANCES

ANGELA HONDRU*

ABSTRACT. *Hayachine-kagura – an Exquisite Bouquet of Dances*. Kagura (sacred dance) is a showing of the sacred through human beings and human art, as it is the human who gives voice to the *kami* (deities). *Kagura* mediates between the deities and the community, having the power to create a world of virtual time and space. It also serves as entertainment for both the *kami* and the spectators. Last but not least, it is imbued with great aesthetic value. Among the many types of *Kagura* spectacles, *Hayachine-kagura* in Iwate-prefecture (in the north-east of the main island, Honshu) boasts about a bouquet of fifty dances that take in their vigor from old beliefs, also influenced by exorcizing rituals of the *shugenja* (ascetics practicing austerities in the mountains), who brought with them to the area the cult of a mythological animal that became the concrete manifestation of the Mountain God. He is said to absorb sins, sanctify the land and its people, and ensure abundant harvests. Lest his strength should weaken, he is given offerings of music and dance, being thus subjected to renewal rituals on July 31st through August 1st.

Keywords: *kami* (deity), purification, magical protection, offering, entertainment

REZUMAT. *Hayachine-kagura,* un buchet de dansuri sacre. *Kagura* (dans sacru) este un act de comunicare între zeități şi comunitate, devenit posibil prin intermediul artelor interpretative, omul dând glas divinităților. Se creează astfel o lume virtuală, cu spațiu şi timp propriu. Este totodată o modalitate de distracție atât a zeităților, cât şi a spectatorilor şi, nu în ultimul rând, *Kagura* îşi etalează virtuțile estetice de o valoare incontestabilă.

Există multe tipuri de dans sacru, *Hayachine-kagura* din prefectura Iwate (în nord-estul insulei Honshu) fiind un spectacol maiestuos, alcătuit din cincizeci de dansuri ce-şi trag seva din credințe străvechi, influențate şi de ritualurile de exorcizare practicate de asceții din munți (*shugenja*), care au insuflat venerarea unui animal mitologic devenit manifestare concretă a Zeului Muntelui. Zeitatea absoarbe păcatele şi relele locuitorilor, purificând ținutul şi binecuvântându-l totodată cu recolte bogate.

* Professor Ph.D. (Japanese Literature and Civilization), Hyperion University in Bucharest. Author of textbooks on Japanese Language (1983, 1991, 1992, 2002; an electronic version in 2005) and of a *Guide to Japanese Literature* (Vol. I – 1999, Vol. II – 2004), as well as of *Japanese Myths and Legends* (1999); Translator of *Japan Foundation Dictionary* and of major works of: Osamu Dazai, Yukio Mishima, Kobo Abe, Haruki Murakami, Shuhei Fujisawa, Sawako Ariyoshi, Fumiko Enchi, etc. Major Field of research: Japanese Festivals (*Matsuri*) and the Sacred Dance (*Kagura*). Author of *Japanese Festivals – in the Spirit of Tradition* (2001). Two fellowships granted by Japan Foundation (2000 and 2005). **Awards**: The Prize of the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs (2008); The Japan Foundation Award for Japanese Language (2008); Doctor Honoris Causa – Hirosaki University, Japan (2009); The Order of the Rising Sun, Gold Rays with Rosette (2009). E-mail: angela.hondru@gmail.com.

Spectacolul din zilele de 31 iulie şi 1 august se înscrie în ritualurile de înnoire anuală a zeităților de la templul Hayachine prin ofrande de muzică şi dans.

Cuvinte cheie: *kami* (zeități), purificare, protecție magică, ofrandă, distracție

Before the advent of Buddhism in the 6th century, the only Japanese religion at that time consisted of rituals and beliefs that later came to be known as Shintō – the Way of the Gods. There are the *kami* (gods/deities) that appeared in the period of chaos and those of creation, who gave shape to the land; there are the *kami* of the earth and the sky, and those of the sun and the moon. In fact, *kami* range from powerful nature deities to the spirits of peculiar objects (e.g. a miniature waterfall, a big tree, a stone having a curious shape, a beautiful flower, etc.). They are virtually infinite in number, as the word *yaoyorozu* (myriads of *kami*) denotes. This "animistic" religion sees life and divinity in all the phenomena of Nature, while Nature is taken as the mysterious fountainhead of all life.

As the Japanese in the early period did not know how to change the natural world around them, they strove instead for living in harmony with given environmental conditions. There was something more than mere awe, it was a friendly relationship with and reverence for Nature which has ever characterized their native religious spirit. The sentiments of awe, friendship, and reverence induced the desire for worship. To put it in other words, an ancient and universally human response to the awesome gave birth to the sentiment of sacred and to an emotion out of which the *kami* themselves have grown. The need of coming into contact with them as well as with mysteries of life was satisfied mainly by rituals or by magic.

The rituals originate in the belief that "on the goodwill of the *kami* depends the prosperity of the community. Treat them correctly with the right rituals and offerings, summon them correctly with the right spells, and they will leave their own world to visit ours and will exercise their superior power for the benefit of man." [Blacker, 1999:21]. This belief is more strongly emphasized by Honda's assertion according to which "man is *kami*'s offspring" [1993:214].

Thus, the Japanese who lived in the bosom of nature worshiped at fixed times its elements through calling down deities. Then they entertained them, prayed to them and thanked them. Such stages worked as a rule in all the periods. What differed was the way of calling down the *kami* and that of interacting with them. The latter aspect manifested itself through artistic forms, undergoing changes along the ages, because Japanese creativity has always had a word to say.

The mountain is particularly worshipped among the elements of Nature, being connected with awesome of their wild, menacing natural conditions. Yama-no-Kami (the Mountain God) is consequently one of the most important deities in the Japanese pantheon. Mountain worship is also connected with the belief that the mountains are the abodes of the ancestors. It was believed that the souls of the dead "gradually

ascend from the base of the mountain to the summit and finally become *kami*". [Yanagita, 1970:150] The spirits of the dead are said to become Yama-no-Kami after the thirty-third anniversary of their death. These *kami* descend to the village in early spring, watch over the agricultural activities of their descendants, and return to the mountains in autumn. Being formerly an agrarian country, it is quite natural that such a belief should have been paid great heed to. Last but not least, the mountain is also very important as a link between the profane and the sacred dimensions of life, "a passage way from this world to the next – from the profane to the sacred and from earth to heaven". [Hori, 1968:177] It is thus understandable that the ascetics – *shugenja* – and the shamans practiced austerities within the mountains to obtain supernatural powers or to communicate with supernatural beings.

The *shugenja*'s (also called *yamabushi* – people who lie in the mountains) activities were not limited to the practice of asceticism. They also acted as guides to the shrines and temples in the mountains, performed rites for believers (using the supernatural powers they had gained through their practice), and engaged in various religious activities. They also practiced ritual dances, distributed amulets from their home temples and shrines, organized annual folk observances – *matsuri*, conducted the rituals for the prosperity of the family, exorcisms to rid fields of harmful insects, as well as rituals to meet a wide range of needs. The supernatural spiritual world of *Shugendō* – the way of the *shugenja* – (a unique religion that took the form about the 9th and 10th centuries) contains a large syncretistic pantheon of various *kami* and spirits that are believed to control the daily lives of human beings.

According to folk belief all *kami* should be periodically given offerings and special rituals because they are considered to grow old like human beings and if they are neglected, they might extinguish. Lest this should happen, they are subjected to renewal rituals at certain points of time. This is the background of all *matsuri. Kagura* – the sacred dance – could not have deviated from it. *Kami* are said to share human pleasure in the performing arts, most notable singing and dancing. People dance to explain belief, to worship or honor, to reveal *kami* through dance, and to entertain. Dance performances provide one of the most characteristic bridges between religious belief and action.

Being a renewal observance, the spectacle of *Hayachine-kagura* follows the same steps as a traditional *matsuri*: meeting the *kami*, entertaining him and sending him back to his permanent abode. Last but not least, *kagura* is not meant only for the *kami*, but for the people attending it as well, which accounts for the variety and changing style of performances.

Kagura are considered to be either offerings of music and dance brought to the *kami* by people or music and dance performed by the *kami* who descend among parishioners. The offerings of songs and dances function as a mediator between *kami* and man, act as a go-between that answers both for enduring relationship with superior spirits and for strong social bonds. The offerings can be considered one of man's efforts to draw nearer to the sacred, being imbued with a particular symbolism. The

gesture of offering is connected with two planes of existence: the festive one and that of recollection. Through the permanence of recollection, through this feeling of cosmic essence, the Japanese go beyond the terrestrial familiar solidarity, acquiring that ancestral solidarity which is eminently sacred and which has taken deep roots in their spirituality.

The researchers who are in favor of *kagura* viewed as manifestations of the *kami* through human impersonators consider that the most probable origin of the word *kagura* lies in the idea of a *kam(u)kura* (sitting place) for the *kami* who descend among the people, i.e. the place or abode where the *kami* are supposed to dwell while taking part in the performance. As the second ideogram of the word signifies "amusement" as well, the meaning of *kagura* can be extended to that of entertainment offered to the *kami*, this type being more liable to creativity. Thus, we understand that the performers of the oldest type of *kagura* are the *kami*, while the *kagura* which serves as an offering to the *kami* is a secondary phenomenon. But in both cases, *kagura* can either stand for the whole spectacle (e.g. *Hayachine-kagura*) or the entertaining music and dance can point to only a part of it.

Kagura claims a mythological origin. The myth of Japan's creation tells less of the islands' physical formation than of their ritual molding. The most popular myth is that of Amaterasu-Ōmikami, the Sun Goddess. Facing with the outrageous behavior of her brother Susano-o, she hides in a cave and thus throws the heavenly realm into darkness. The other deities devise a plan to trick her out of the cave by pretending another goddess is present. Ame-no-Uzume (the Girl of the Heaven) tries to lure her from the cave by showing her breasts, lowering her skirt, and dancing joyfully on an overturned tub. The assembled deities laugh uproariously. Hearing their laughter, Amaterasu leaves the cave to see what is causing so much merriment. The stout Tajikarao grabs her and prevents her from going back into the cave. Thus, light is restored to the world. Like a shaman, Ame-no-Uzume entices Amaterasu to leave her private world with joyful dancing, using a mirror and holding a sprig of a tree – two favorite shamanic implements.

What we understand from the episode that took place in front of the cave is that Amaterasu was quelled through dance. As most experts assert, the ritual of placating the spirit of a deity has its origin in the ancient rite named *tamafuri* ("shaking the soul"). Hence the belief that through shaking or swinging an object, the *tama* (soul) could be stirred and magically transferred to it, after pacification and revitalization through ritual. This accounts for the wide range of *torimono* (bells, fans, swords, *sakaki* sprigs, bamboo grass, etc.) the performers manipulate during the dances. They are channels through which *kami* are invited and guided into the people's world. Sometimes it is quite easy to infer the meaning of the dance while looking at the *torimono*.

Structurally, *Kagura* consists of two parts. The first part is strictly ritualistic and concerned with preparing the conditions for the presence of the deity. To this part belong ceremonies that have as a purpose the purification of the place where the *kami* will temporarily reside. Once the abode is ready, the *kami* is met through

ritual and conjured to descend. While the first part has tended to remain the same through the centuries, the entertainment part of the *kagura* has often changed to reflect contemporary tastes and fashions.

Kagura was originally performed only as a religious ritual, which means that the whole responsibility was incumbent upon the shrine priests while ordinary people were not allowed to perform. But gradually, as the artistic value of the *kagura* increased and it became an important entertainment element for the communities, around the end of Edo-era (1603-1868), its theatrical value increased and common people also started performing it. As a result, there appeared groups of amateurs devoted to *kagura* performances. At the beginning of Meiji-era (1868-1912), both the *matsuri* and the *kagura* systems got altered, which brought about the change in the rituals. Shrine priests were no longer allowed to perform dances. Quite surprisingly, they did not lose their vigor and the role played until then by the priests was taken over by common people because dances had already become a vital matter of entertainment in the community.

Thus, the *kagura* flourished still more, being cultivated as the main local artistic entertainment. In order to dissipate the monotony caused by the few artistic elements, the *kagura* took over themes not only from the cosmogonic myths, but also from legends, history and the farces between the Nō plays (*Kyōgen*). A new touch of enthusiasm was thus added to the performances and they gained high popularity among people. The art of entertaining both *kami* and people became a "must" and the process of slowly changing the religious ritual into entertainment grew more and more conspicuous owing to the dancers who got specialized.

Hayachine-kagura boasts about great fame due to the exquisite bouquet of dances that take in their vigor from Shintō and Buddhist observances, also influenced by exorcizing rituals practiced by itinerant *yamabushi* who brought with them the Gongen cult to the Hayachine area in Iwate prefecture. Mt. Hayachine is included among the one hundred sacred mountains, while the physical manifestation of the Hayachine *Kami* – Gongen-sama – is the head of an unidentified mountain animal with golden clacking teeth, called *shishi* (lion). *Shishi* is in fact a mythological animal that is worshipped by being danced with. As a manifest, dynamic deity, *shishi* absorbs sins, sanctifies the land and its people and ensures abundant harvests.

The imposing spectacle starts with people passing through the *chi no wa* – the magic circle whose role is to ward off evils. It is considered a renewal ritual, to which spectators have free access. After the offerings of dance and music on July 31st, the *kami* being thus invited to come down into the community, the people who take part in the procession of transferring the *kami* to the temporary abode in the woods on August 1st gather at Hayachine shrine in order to worship Gongen-sama and the local guardian *kami*, Seoritsu-hime, considered to be his wife.

Priests chant *norito* and then musicians give the *kami* offerings of songs. Gongen-sama and Seoritsu-hime are ready to leave for the temporary abode, having Sarutahiko-no-mikoto in front of the procession. He wears the mask of a mythological

animal (*tengu*) and carries a long halberd – the symbol of a pathfinder. There follow Seoritsu-hime-no-mikoto and Gongen kashira or Shishi-gashira (the lion-head), which stands in fact for Gongen-sama. The group that accompanies the two portable shrines is made up of parishioners, musicians and other lion-heads which are to entertain the *kami*. After taking a short rest, the deities are offered two *shishi-mai* (lion's dance) after other religious rituals. While the *kami* are taken back to their permanent abode, the accompanying groups of *shishi* perform brief dances in front of every house in order to exorcize all evil spirits. It means that Gongen-sama symbolically exorcizes the community from malevolent spirits and ensures the welfare of villagers.

A distinctive feature of *Hayachine-kagura* is that the *kami* are given offerings of dance and music both before and after the ritual of meeting them – mainly a religious ritual. The entertainment part includes both religious and artistic elements. However, it is difficult to judge where the religious ritual ends and where entertainment begins, or sometimes the two aspects even combine, featuring a unique performance that warms the spectators' hearts. We understand once more that Japan is the country where people and *kami* seem to live and entertain together.

Hayachine-kagura, which has its origin in an itinerant *kagura* the *yamabushi* of Mt. Hayachine practiced while making the rounds of the villages in the area, is made up of *Ōtsugunai-kagura* and *Take-kagura*, considered to be "sister *kagura*" belonging to neighboring villages that lie at the foot of Mt Hayachine. It boasts about ancient dances with very little differences between the two variants.

According to Ichinokura, *Ōtsugunai-kagura* started in 1488, while *Take-kagura* in 1595, along with the opening of the mountain to pilgrimage. [2003: 33] The ascetics would make the rounds of villages between November and January or February, according to old lunar calendar, carrying a lion-head in order to practice the purification ritual. In the evenings they would stop at a house, enclose the place with *shimenawa* (sacred rope), improvise a stage and perform sacred dances all night long.

The first six dances of the spectacle performed at Hayachine-jinja (shrine) on July 31st belong to the group of *shiki-mai* (ritual dances): *Tori-mai*, *Okina-mai*, *Sanbasō*, *Hachiman-mai*, *Yama-no-mai*, *Amaterasu Iwato-biraki.* These ritual dances aim at purifying the place, pacifying the *kami* and preparing their transfer. They are performed on the stage of the shrine one night before Gongen-sama and Seoritsuhime-no-mikoto are transferred to the temporary abode in the woods on August 1st. Every dance tells a story, while the masks and the elegant movements display a gorgeous sight worthy of the fame *Hayachine-kagura* acquired even abroad.

Tori-mai (the Dance of the Birds) is a re-enactment of an auspicious part of the myth according to which the primordial couple – Izanagi and Izanami – gave birth to the Japanese islands. They are the creators who produced the land of Japan, mountains, rivers, waves, trees, fields, wind, fog, and the deities ruling these things. It is the time of origin, of the cosmogony, "the instant that saw", to put it in Eliade's words, "the appearance of the most immense of the realities", in this case, the Japanese world. "This is the reason the cosmogony serves as the paradigmatic model for every

creation, for every kind of doing. It is for the same reason that cosmogonic time serves as the model for all sacred times." [1987: 81] The performance of the cosmogonic myth means a return to the original time, being a symbolic rebirth. The two dancers in *Tori-mai* wear unique bird helmets with a figure of a cock affixed to the top of one and a hen attached to the top of the other, with large flaps that hang down on both sides, on which marvelous drawings of cranes – symbol of longevity – catch the eye. The hats serve to portray the dancers as the cock and the hen in the primary myth. As a dance of purification, *Tori-mai* establishes favorable conditions for calling down the deities. *Tori-mai* is always introduced as the first piece, being performed with steady stepping movements by two dancers who mirror each other: if a movement is done to one side, it is often repeated to the opposite side. The dance between a cock and a hen symbolizes prayers for fertility and new life.

Okina, considered by Kunio Yanagita – the father of Japanese folklore studies – to be the God of Ancestral Spirits, or by Carmen Blacker "a corporate spiritual entity of the Ancestor, in which all past forebears of the family are believed to be encapsulated" [1999: 44] is represented here by Amatsukoyane-no-mikoto, a *kami* who danced in front of the Heavenly Cave in order to quell Amaterasu's wrath. He wears a white mask thought to be the abode of the divine entity. Okina greets the deities of the four directions. By looking up toward the sky and down toward the earth, he also re-creates not only a ritual space, but the entire universe. Okina is believed to bring health and happiness to the community, as well as long life, fertility to the fields and animals, and peace and prosperity to the land. Coming from the land of everlasting life, Okina looked young even at the age of one hundred years old and he had his first child, Sanba, at the age of two hundred. But people started mocking at him out of envy and jealousy. Then Okina's son died suddenly before reaching the age of ten, in spite of the care the child had been taken of. Because of his distress, Okina lost his mind and cried for many days. In his grief, Okina took the corpse of Sanba out of the grave, put flesh made from ashes onto the skeleton of his son, placed clothing on the body and held him as though he were alive. Okina's life came to a close when he prayed to the *kami*, asking to take his life and give it to Sanba. His request was granted and his son came to life and danced a celebratory dance.

The latter half of the dance, *Sanbasō* (old Sanba), dramatizes the story of the death and rebirth of Okina's son through the transference of the life force from Okina. The black color of the lacquered mask suggests Sanba's reincarnation from the soil of the earth. His sprightly dance is an example of comical imitation. Often, when man imitates a deity, he does the contrary – dancing to the left if the deity dances to the right or stepping backward if the deity steps forward – making the audience laugh heartily.

Hachiman-mai originates in the belief of the God of War. Hachiman is considered the divine protector of Japan and the Japanese people. The name means "God of Eight Banners", referring to the eight heavenly banners that signaled the birth of the divine Emperor Ōjin (201-310). The dancer performs a dance of warding

off evil spirits by shooting arrows in four directions.

Yama-no-kami praises the land, prays for good harvest, and drives away harmful spirits. The dance narrates the origin of Yama-no-kami who comes down to the plains in spring, becoming the deity of paddy fields. The dance of this *kami* is very complex, containing a great variety of magical gestures: stomps, jumps, hops, and spreading rice. They are repeated toward all directions, to form an imaginary universe on the stage.

Iwato-biraki (the Opening of the Heavenly Cave) in which Ame-no-Uzume lures Amaterasu out of the cage through dance comes last in the series of *kagura* called *Shiki-rokubun* (Six Ritual Dances). The six dances are followed by forty-four additional dances, some of which reproduce mythical and historical events, or are dedicated to women.

There are also dances with no narrative thread, as those in the series called *Ara-mai* (violent dances). They are sprightly, but they have lost their primary meaning of purification and quelling, taken over from Shugendō. Initially, when the ascetics brought offerings to deities, they would turn into good account the mysteries achieved by deities and they are said to have done it through dance.

One of the most famous dances in this group, which gained international fame, is *Sasawake* (squeeze through a bamboo grove), performed with bamboo leaves and swords. It originated in the ritual of purification with hot water, called *yudate*, but nowadays its meaning can be inferred only through the presence of the bamboo leaves. It nevertheless remains an extremely dynamic and charming dance.

Another couple of dances are to entertain the rejuvenated deities, on the stage of Hayachine-shrine, after they have been taken back to their permanent abode, the following day, i.e. on August 1st. To balance the more serious and ritualistic ceremonial dances, *yamabushi* also included dances such as: *Fūshō-no-mai*, which features an angry *kami* who performs a purifying dance through which he wards off all impurities accumulated on the way; dances which were an artistic response to the prevailing feuds and battles between powerful clans along the centuries; women's dances called *onna-mai*.

Kurama-mai, for instance, narrates the fight between Ushiwakamaru (the medieval warrior-hero belonging to the Minamoto family, Yoshitsune, when he was a young boy) and the famous warrior monk Benkei on Mt. Kurama, located to the north of Kyōto. The story runs as follows: Ushiwakamaru planned to raise an army and wanted Benkei to be his advisor, since the monk was known to be a very famous strategist. In order to approach Benkei, Ushiwakamaru felt he had to challenge him, but Benkei refused. After repeated trials, he finally accepted. During the actual fight, Benkei is said to have used seven kinds of martial arts and the knowledge of forty-two volumes of strategy, but he finally realized the young boy's ability and decided to become his retainer. Though having no religious meaning, such a dance is said to delight both *kami* and spectators, being at the same time very instructive as it brings before their eyes deeds famous in times of yore.

Extremely sensitive are the dances in the group *Onna-mai*, featuring famous women. *Kanemaki* is a well-known piece. The only daughter of a famous village headman traveled and worshiped at shrines and temples. By chance, she went to Kanemaki-temple and, while praying there, decided to enter into that temple's priesthood to become a nun. A monk told her women had to learn ascetic practices regulated by Buddhist law, which were very strict and lasted for one thousand days. He warned her against becoming a female-demon, the same as her forerunners had done in their attempts. Despite the monk's advice, the young woman's heartfelt desire was firm and she presented a *kane no o* (cloth bell cord found at entrances to shrines or temples) as a symbolic offering in commencing the religious practice of one thousand days. Nevertheless, the woman could not bear the practice. She became insane and turned into a female-demon wandering around Koya Mountain. Meanwhile, her father, who was in Kyōto, heard the rumor about his daughter and looked for a *yamabushi* to rescue her. The *yamabushi* lured the young woman with his superior divine power and a violent fight unfolded. As expected, the female-demon could not overcome the *yamabushi*'s divine power and returned to her original state. The exorcism that takes place in this dance symbolically serves to remove from the community any evil influences that might bring illness and misfortune to its inhabitants.

Gongen-mai always closes spectacles dedicated to Gongen-sama. It has two parts. The former half features a solemn dance, in fact a prayer piece, while the latter represents a symbolic possession of the dancer by the deity. The dance begins slowly and builds to an intense climax of whirling to indicate the possessing presence of the deity. The possession takes place while the dancer manipulates the lion-head mask. The latter part is performed by two dancers. The first manipulates the lion-head with both hands and performs a series of turns that are interrupted by snapping movements of the lion's jaw. The snapping motion symbolizes the removal of evil from the community. The second dancer assists by holding the lion's body, a long cloth attached to the head. The dance reaches its climax when the dancer manipulating the lion-head enacts having taken over the attributes of the deity. In becoming Gongen-sama, the performer raises the lion-head above his own and lets the attached cloth body fall around him. The performance ends with a mighty clapping of the jaws and quick movements of the head in an expression of joy at having been entertained by all of the dances that were brought as offerings. If we are to judge the lion-head in Mircea Eliade's words, we can consider it a clear example of theophany, namely, a visible manifestation of the deity through the mask of an imaginary animal.

Hayachine-kagura is a ritual performance that functions not just as any folk observance, but as one which is believed to have the power of magical protection and of inducing fertility. It contains ancient elements which impress the spectators. It is refined art imbued with *yamabushi*'s energy and a strong sense of humor. Last but not least, the spectators spend sacred time together with the performers because the profane time becomes sacred time during the festive moments.

Hayachine-kagura is another strong proof that ritual is necessary for a traditional community to organize its life. Rituals are endless realities; they look like eternal occurrences which belong not only to the past, but to the present and the future as well. Thanks to the items in the program, they cast performers and participants onto a plane which goes beyond history, enabling them to assume a reality hardly to be attained on the individual profane plane. It is a plane beyond temporality – that of Japanese traditional communities which apparently live according to perennial co-ordinates, but in which the present is nevertheless intensely felt through people's creativity ready to meet their up-to-date spiritual needs.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Blacker, Carmen: 1999, *The Catalpa Bow – a Study in Shamanistic Practices in Japan*, Japan Library.

Eliade, Mircea: 1987, *The Sacred and the Profane*, Harcourt Inc.

Furuno Kyoto: 1968, *Shishi-mai no Minzoku*, Iwazaki Bijutsusha, Tōkyō.

Honda Yasuji: 1993, *Nihon no Dentō Geinō*, Vol. I, *Kagura*, Kinseisha, Tōkyō.

Hondru, Angela: 1999, *Japanese Myths and Legends*, Victor, Bucharest.

Hori Ichirō: 1968, *Folk Religion in Japan – Continuity and Change*, the University of Chicago Press.

Ichinokura Shun'ichi: 2003, *Hayachine Kagura*, Ōhasamachō Kankō Kyōkai, Morioka, Iwate-ken.

Iwata Masaru: 1983, *Kagura Genryūkō*, Meicho Shuppan, Tōkyō.

Yanagita Kunio: 1970, *Nihon no Matsuri*, Kadogawa Bunko, Tōkyō.

*

Bessatsu Taiyō – Nihon no Kokoro: 2000, No. 111, *Yama no Shūkyō – Shugendō to wa nani ka*, Editor Yuhara Kimihiro, Heibonsha, Tōkyō.

Bessatsu Taiyō – Nihon no Kokoro: 2001, No. 115, Okagura, Editor Takahashi Yōji, Heibonsha, Tōkyō.

STUDIA UBB PHILOLOGIA, LVIII, 1, 2013, p. 127 - 139
(RECOMMENDED CITATION)

PERCEPTIONS OF SPACE AND BODY WITHIN THE PROCESSES OF IDENTIFICATION IN JAPAN

NATAŠA VISOČNIK*

ABSTRACT. ***Perceptions of Space and Body within the Processes of Identification in Japan*.** The present article discusses the construction of identity as a process of identification which is a process of placement and it focuses on one of the space metaphors, that is namely body, and its movement and perception. An embodiment is a process in which a space is constructed through socialization and body learning. Within the construction of space particular emotions important for individual identity arise. One of such spaces that creates strong feelings of belonging to a place is the dwelling environment.

Keywords: perception, identification, space, architecture, body, rituals, embodiment, Japan

REZUMAT. ***Percepții ale spațiului şi corpului în procesele de identificare în Japonia***. Prezentul articol discută construcția identității ca proces de identificare, de plasare, concentrându-se pe una din metaforele spațiale, respectiv pe cea a corpului, şi pe mişcarea şi percepția sa. O „întrupare" este un proces în care un spațiu este construit prin intermediul socializării şi prin învățarea cu ajutorul corpului uman. În construcția spațiului apar anumite emoții importante pentru identitatea individului. Unul din aceste spații, care creează sentimente puternice de apartenență, este spațiul locuit.

Cuvinte-cheie: percepție, identificare, spațiu, arhitectură, corp, ritualuri, întrupare, Japonia

1. Introduction

The process of identification creates the symbolic spaces and appropriates already established ones. Identities are not always achieved through the identification with the groups of individuals with the same view, but also through distinctive and expressive embodied performative repertoires. Ritual processes, such as pilgrimages and rites of passage through which new identity are constructed, highlight the importance of spatial performance in the process of creating identities and can be considered as

* Nataša Visočnik, PhD Assistent; Department pf Asian and African Studies, Faculty of Arts, University of Ljubljana, Slovenia. E-mail address: natasa.visocnik@guest.arnes.si

models of contemporary expressive identity. All this is happening in a certain space, which may be a part of our living/dwelling environment and this produces everyday way of life. Such spaces, which Foucault calls "heterotopias" serve some distinctive purposes. The link between identity and space is expressed through the formation of creating a sense that allows relationships with certain localities, constituted and experienced in a certain way, and necessarily involves the labeling of "self" and "other" through identification with the larger colectivites (Gupta and Ferguson 2001: 17), a process that takes place through the body and is moving within the space.

Anthropology and ethnology addressed both research and understanding of "space and place" (see Muršič 2006) in the 90s of the 20th century. In particular they are interested in the perception of space, which is expressed through spatial metaphors. We are interested in one of spatial metaphors; namely the body, which is crucial for the understanding of space. The body occupies the space and body is a space – one lives in the body, he is the physical being creating the place with its own rules, its own ideas; of what is known as the embodiment of space: "The concept of 'embodied space' combines previously incompatible ideas (dualism of subjective and objective body), and highlights the importance of the body as a physical and biological entities, such as living experience; and as a center of agency, a place to talk and a place to actualize yourself in the world." (Low and Lawrence-Zúñiga 2003: 2)

Anthropology is thus quickly took the belief in the universality of concepts of space as an extension of the human body, with the limited nature of the phenomenological world and human physiology. Perception and experience of space occupied by the body is transformed regarding the individual's relationship to emotions and mental state, according to the self-consciousness, social relations and cultural pre-dispositions. Marcel Mauss says that acquired habits and body tactics, which he calls "body techniques" include all "cultural art" in the body. Pierre Bourdieu explains how personal habits produce cultural forms and social structures with the use of the term "habitus", through which a social structure is incorporated into the body. Those social structures are then reflected in everyday life. (Low and Lawrence-Zuniga 2003: 2-3) Later, the interest in space theme extended to other perspectives[1] and thus the spatial dimensions of cultural background came to the fore. In doing so, it should be stressed the idea that any behaviour is apparent and is constructed out of space; that is also the idea which gained new importance in the light of new researches. Space has become an essential component of the socio-cultural theory. More familiar themes of space, such as forms of houses and sacred places have been re-conceptualized, a new topic of transnational spaces and spatial tactics have become more important.

[1] In volume *Anthropology of Space and Place: Locating Culture* editors Seth M. Low and Denise Lawrence-Zuniga (2003) divided such perspectives into six thematic categories: space of body, gender, impression, confrontation, transnational spaces and spatial tactics. These categories are not exclusive or final, because the field of social spaces is very broad and difficult to grip.

2. Space and Body in the Process of Identification

The place is next to the time an absolute condition of human existence; in their awareness is always besides to the social structure of the site we have to consider also an economic exchange, kinship, technology, politics, religious ideas or signs in general. Space (and time) created by us, is therefore the condition as a resultant of our operations. The place is transcendental condition of perception; our "consciousness" can not perceive the world without space and without the time, so both categories are prerequisites of man as a rational being.

For many European philosophers, for example Martin Heidegger, the time is more important than the place where man exists as an entity in the context of temporality. At the same time the mind was more important than the body. In the Japanese philosophy the spatial focus is in opposition to Cartesian emphasis on "time" flow, which is essential for the actions of autonomous mind. The primacy of free space is on time. In the interpretation of the Japanese philosopher Yuasa Yasuo the recognition of the importance of the body and nonseparation of body and mind is visibly. While the mind conceptualizes over time, the body must be situated in space (1987: 39-42). However, Takie Sugiyama Lebra (1992: 9) had some reservation on Yuasa's argument, namely, that space and time in Japanese social organization are almost inseparable. In fact, this problem is related to the idea of time itself, which imitates the spatial model, since space and "time" (*toki* 時) are concepts conceptualized in other cultural contexts.

Even for the Japanese philosopher Watsuji Tetsurō (1994) the place is a product of space and time in which we live, and it is a reflection of the state of our mind and heart. Social space is materialized time and the spaces are the points where we encounter; these are categories interpreted by anthropology. Interpretational paradigms derived from the idea of space, which is cultural constructed, and without our experience it does not make sense. An individual has a certain position in it and he reflects it and creates it with words. Society and space are so inextricably linked. Beside that the society and the place are also inseparately connected. The organization of the place is defined by the relations in a certain context of clusters, interactions and activities, and social practice is spatial.

The idea of spatial limitation is the basis for defining, constructing, strengthening and expanding of social organization. Tendency for "placement" of human relations is the result of the tendency to observe the human relationships in the context of social relations. Within the Japanese philosophical tradition Watsuji Tetsurō recognizes the importance of space for the Japanese in the idea of human being or "person" (*ningen* 人間) in the word, which is composed of two characters,

namely the characters 人 / *hito* ("man") and 間 / *aida* ("between") or *ma* ("space")[2] (1994: 18-19). It is essential to consider also a word "-between" (間柄 *aidagara*) that puts "space" between "people", and it means the relationship between persons (Watsuji 1994: 166). This betweeness implies our existence in a definite "space" or *basho* (場所), which is not neutral physical space, but it is the living space where we can find interrelated meanings. More primordial and more important is the fact that we exist in space, rather than the fact that we are humans.

If we fill the space with concrete content, we get the relationship between man and nature that surrounds it. This idea comes from the work *Fūdo* 風土 (*Climate*, 1994), where Watsuji placed a man in a place, the environment in which he lives (see also Lebra 1992, Yuasa 1987; Berque 1994). In doing so, he emphasizes the distinction of self-perception in Western and Eastern thought. While Western thought sees itself and nature as two opposing poles, in Japan they are seen as mutually influencing poles. Selfhood is merged together with the environment by learning about the patterns of nature, which are of course culturally constructed. Augustin Berque (1994: 93) [3] sees a deficiency in Watsuji's idea, as his phenomenology of the environment only deals with the physical environment, while the social environment is neglected.

Yasuo Yuasa stretched Watsuji's idea of space to explain the importance of the body for Japanese "self", which is contrary to the Cartesian dualism of mind and body, where the mind with its transcendental status is equated with "selfhood" (Watsuji 1987). Human perception of one's own body is an essential aspect of his self-awareness, which is related to the existence of other bodies. The body is also a fundamental input of human identity. This is also the reason why he wants to manage and control it, especially when he wants to adjust his own body to social norms.

---

[2] The character 間 has beside the reading (*kun'yomi*) *aida* and *ma* also other readings (and meanings): when using Sino-Japanese reading *on'yomi*, is *kan* or *gen* and in combination with other characters there are a number of formations.

[3] In Watsuji's work *Fūdo* we can highlight hermeneutic phenomenology in relation to the sociery with the environment, which explicitly refers to the work of Martin Heidegger *Sein und Zeit*, while it also radically differs in two points. Watsuji mostly emphasizes that the structure of human existence is nothing less in space than in time, which Heidegger does not mention, and no more social than individual. So he came to the three partial structure: the timing correspond to spatiality and history; to the "environment" (*fūdo* 風土), and "historical intervention" (*fūdosei* 風土性). Without a doubt Watsuji emphasizes the environmental determinism. He also speaks about the freedom of the human subject in the contradtion to the nature, but he also adds that in its expression this freedom necessarily reflects the intervention of the society. For Watsujija individual identity is subordinated to collective existance and at the same time stay rooted in nature. (Watsuji 1994: 161) Within this theory we can seen too much emphasis is put on the environment, while the effects of cultural environment are neglected. Of course, we know that Watsuji's ideology was created during the construction of nationalist Japan.

The body with its sense(s), perceptions and realizations is a source of human experiences, which it collects, verifys and compares with the experience of other people and expresses them in a variety of ways. The body is also the place where we are accepting the world around us; with the body we are observing and dealing with the world around us. According to Merleau-Ponty, first we need a second body to compare, only then we can see our own. Thus the space is perceived through our body. The body is a border, over which our mind perceives the space around us. The world explains our body through body schemes, showing us the position of the body, and thus our perception of body experience. (Merleau-Ponty 1978: 106)

With globalization the issue of identity emphasizes the body, which may be nationalized, determined by gender, race, controlled, disciplined and decorated. Every culture is interested in body images and practices, which may include beauty ideals, rules and norms of cleanliness, nutrition and physical exposure. These norms affect the way how we experience the body in everyday life and how we celebrate it in the rituals. Individual identification starts by determining the sex and location of the body in the system of age groups. The social construction of "embodiment" and body actions is an essential component of cultural identity transformed by global force.

Thus is the human who creates space and the space is created, designed and conceptualized with the help of human creativity (agency). Movement as a practice and as an active act causes a creation of space or "spatialization". With the movement the human is not only moving through space, but also between identities, relationships, people, things, groups, societies, cultures, environments and times. (Rapport and Overing 2000: 265) Pierre Bourdieu calls this "body hexis"[4], which is obtained within a certain "habitus", where existing boundaries appear, disappear, and new and various categorization of the world are constructed. Movement is a creation act that creates spaces through "embodiment", including dwelling environment. (Bourdieu 2002: 87)

For an explanation of the concepts of "spatialization and embodiment" in Japan the most convenient concept is divison into the zones, indicating Japanese social organization, in which the idea of limitation is exposed (Lebra 1992: 5). In Japanese social life emphasizing the concept of *ba* 場 ("space" or "situation") is recognized by many researchers, since it is known that is well-connected in space and/or time, as mentioned in the English translation of the word *ba* as frame. If the Western way of thinking and acting requires structural opposition of body and mind, subject and object, transcendence and universality, real and unreal, it is clear that the Japanese are lead by social binarity or binary codes, such as *uchi* 内 ("inside") and *soto* 外 ("outside") or *ura* 裏 ("back") and *omote* 表("front"). (Ōkawa 1986: 134-135) Social limits lead not only those inside and outside, but also the members who are in the center and on the outskirts, or liminal, which are not inside and not

[4] *Hexis* (Greek) = "state", "well-being".

outside or they are everywhere. Spatial restriction depends on time constraints, which make it difficult to distinguish between them. Therefore, a close look at how the perception of space and bodies are involved in the process of searching for identity and identification in the architecture and in the construction in the living environment will be provided.

3. Concepts of Space and Body in Architecture

The space occupied by the body, and the perception and experience of space are shrinking and expanding in relation to human emotions and thoughts, awareness of self, social relations and cultural pre-dispositions. Human beings are embodied and everyday life is realized in physical existence. In her theories Mary Douglas mentioned the body as a medium of communication and positioning direct relationship between spatial arrangements and social structure with the symbolism of the body and bodily borders. In his later works Marcel Mauss analyzes the significance of the human body as a metaphor and associates it with the idea that architecture obtaines the images from human experience. Many anthropologists analyze metaphors in order to interpret the ways in which the human body is associated with myths and cosmology, and describe how the spatial and temporal processes are encoded with physical symbolism (Low and Lawrence-Zuniga 2003: 2-4; Low 2003: 12).

Embodied space is a model for understanding the creation of space through spatial orientation, movement and language (Low 2003: 9). Inside the field, covering space and culture, there is an increased interest in the theory involving the body as an integral part of spatial analysis. These problems have been partially solved through historical analysis of the social structure and power (Foucault 1991), trainable body and sociality in the ideas of habitus (Bourdieu 2002), as well as many others (Low and Lawrence-Zuniga 2003). Marybeth MacPhee (2004: 377) says that the embodiment is a process, the foundation of cultural sensitivity and a focal point for understanding the existing culture and aspects of discourse as interrelated phenomena. This can be seen in the living environment as a product of human creative inspiration. Among the factors that affect the individual's images, perceptions and evaluations of the environment and the body, the most commonly recognized are personality characteristics of the individual, namely the parents, relatives, classmates and friends. The factors also considered here are education as a source of knowledge, mass communications media as a source of information and the wider community (nation state) as the creator of the social system. It is individual and relative perception of time and space on the basis of reality and discourses. Individual's existance in space is limited and thus is limited also his perception of space.

Thus the architecture is created as a highly restricted space, and in such, a movement in space expresses physical presence with the creation and development

of the domestic space. The body occupies space, while it is also preoccupied by it. In general, the space occupied by the body depends on the body's movement. A body in motion can be changed to empty space within the architectural forms. (Lozanovska 2002: 147) As Rasmussen (Barrie 1996: 47) says "architecture is not enough to be seen, it must be experienced directly." Here it have to be noted that architectural form and space is perceived not only with the eyes; but also with the smell of materials, by the residents, food, environment, feeling of textures of materials and surfaces, listening to echoes and steps. There are all parts of a complete architectural experience. In other words, the architectural experience is a synthesis of many stimulants and can only be understood in its totality. Although most of our senses experience the environment simultaneously, the vision and movement are a basic way through which we experience architecture. Movement, spatial sequence and time create the fourth dimension of our perceptual sphere and are essential components of experiencing architecture. Although movement through space is one of the five senses, it is the most important for gaining architectural experience. (Barrie 1996: 48)

To allow its residents having a sense of belonging and connection, the space must have an environmental identity. The "place" has a meaning in the context of architecture. Physical limited space creates the context for the experience and meanings that communicate with elements; namely the designed space helps with identification to the place. The meaning is important, because it is formed and represented by common beliefs in a certain place and time, and through certain experiences it may vary from person to person (Ogita 1974).

4. The Construction of the Space through the Body

Japanese society has cultivated a special relationship to the body, as the Japanese body language (for example, precisely codified levels of welcome bow) is used much more than verbal. Thus in Japan the body is frequent topic of contemporary theoretical and philosophical discussions that have occurred in the context of social and technical change. In her book *Cultural Anthropology of the Body* (*Karada no bunka jinruigaku* 体の文化人類学) Emiko Namihira (2005) deals with the problems of the Japanese body in a modern environment, full of rapid changes, consumerism, violence. She has noticed wrapping (or unwrapping) of the body that plays an important role in shaping of human relations, especially in the context of communication. She also mentioned the certain relationship to the body, which must be arranged to the perfection, so the Japanese spend a lot of time to form the perfect body or the body as close as possible to the current beauty ideals. In general, the Japanese perceive their body as small and as such is well adapted to their living environment (see Visočnik 2011). Of course, the idea of the body changes along with the changes of the body itself: namely, we know that the

Japanese body in the last century largely transformed due to diet, medicine and lifestyle which has, among other things, an impact on the living environment.

The body is also expressed through certain human behaviour depended on social norms. Scientific explanations of human behavior operate either with biological, physiological or medical conceptions of the body, which determines patterns of behaviour, or the social, cultural or spiritual entities. These affect on the behaviour of individuals and, indirectly, on his body, and then on the space. Understanding behaviour in the house allows us to explore the patterns of activity, identifying the general types of behavior in the community. Sample activity was recorded as the amount of time spent on activities in the individual hours (Bechtel 1989: 169-171). In doing so, the anthropological analysis of relations between spaces and household activities are created. We are also interested in the transitions between outside and inside the house, locations and uses of domestic objects, which show us an important role in both the physical-spatial as well as affective-symbolic characteristics of the domestic space, objects and activities. Such analysis also bring us affective meanings of spatial connections, forms and positions of rooms, psychological and sociological meanings of installing furniture, home decoration, morphological structure and geographical context of the house. (Visočnik 2011)

Especially in contemporary world culture and level of economic development influence each other on the form of housing. In order to understand transitions in the domestic space, it is necessary to distinguish between the behaviour that reflects the socio-economic (or productive) status from that of the role of rituals maintained consistently within economic groups. Attention should focus on the habits of everyday life within the household (Howell and Tentokali 1989: 282; see also Visočnik 2011), and on the control of the body and rituals in the living environment in Japan.

4.1. Symbolic Control and Learning of the Body

Every social environment has its limits of expression, as well as their ways of body control. The concept of "control" in the Western psychological literature refers to the domain of the individual. The surveillance includes the essence of privacy within the home, with the important individual interpretation and knowledge. Displaying individualistic concept of control can be culturally biased. Japanese has criticized Western naming the primary and secondary control as management principles and psychosocial determinants of behavior. They argue that the North American psychologists are lead by psychoanalytic and ego-centred theory that puts the personal satisfaction and strengthening of self-identification in front as the essence of behavioural mechanisms. In Japan it is argued that the socialization of children emphasizes the identity of the individual, which depends on the circumstances of mutual support and strengthening of the families, and relates primarily to the group achivements. (Howell and Tentokali 1989: 293)

Beside that it is known that the Japanese society has a very high degree of self-control, limitations and often sacrifice, affecting the restriction and control of the body. For understanding the Japanese culture of physical movement the knowledge that the bodies and movements are different in certain communities is required. Therefore we can highlight the consistency between the symbolic and social experience, which are always tested in a given social environment. Mary Douglas (1966) argues that the more people emphasize social constraints, the more are valued the symbols of physical control.

The process of socialization advances into the body through the unconscious cultural codes. Thus the body becomes a memory agent of communication and expression of cultural codes (Rapport and Overing 2000: 2). The ability of the embodiment of the society is the willingness of the body to take over the social performativity; the body automatisms and shemes emerge (Bourdieu 2002: 98). Through the body learning (body hexis) the whole cosmology, ethics, metaphysics, politics, etc. could be imprinted in human. Habitus is the way of activity or "modes operandi" – an essential part of defining the practical skills of the body and is transmitted through practice without reaching the level of discourse. Aquiring a habitus concerns only the issue of mechanical learning (imitation) with tries and mistakes (Bourdieu 2002: 126).

A similar practice is also mentioned by a Japanese researcher Kurashima Akira, who called practice, in which a man attaches to the body various aspects of everyday life, *waza* 技 or "techniques" of the body (2007: 1-2). On the body various technical skills are added to perform a work, learn about interpersonal relationships, communication skills, social manners, etc. It is important to understand the purpose of learning, cultivation of language skills and mastering of learning techniques. The same thing happens in our free time, when we are doing sports and dance to train body, when we are playing musical instruments we train hands, the ears are listening to music, with watching we are educating eyes, with tasting of food we are developing the taste, by reading the literature we are forming the taste for culture, and so on.

The idea of learning through the body is very strong in Japan, because everything is learnt through physical activity of the body. True knowledge, according to the Watsuji's opinion could not be obtained through theoretical thinking, but only through "bodily recognition" (*tainin* 体認) or "physical realization" (*taitoku* 体得), this is through the use of body and mind (Watsuji 1994). Thus learning or "cultivation" (*shugyō* 修業) is a practice, which seeks the right knowledge with the full use of the mind and body. Such learning is particularly characteristic to Zen

Buddhism, the arts and martial arts, where is also reflected general thinking and philosophy found in everyday life. (Yuasa 1987: 25)[5]

4.2. Symbolism and Rituality in the Dwelling Space

Mary Douglas as well as Pierre Bourdieu (2002: 122) examines how the physical symbolism is transmitted into the space within the home. Pierre Bourdieu has exposed the idea of the body in order to develop a more structuralist argument explaining how physical habits create the cultural traits and the social structures. Through the "habitus"[6] he has marked the way in which body, mind and emotions are simultaneously trained, and he used it also to understand how the social status and class position are embodied in everyday life. Even Mary Douglas (1996) theorizes the body as a medium of communication of the direct relationship between spatial and social structures and discusses the symbolism of the body and physical limitations. The means and social values filled the basic act of practice that transmitt a sense of equivalence between the physical and social space and movement between these two areas.

We can also mention a researcher Shimizu Akitoshi who offers us a detailed insight into the Japanese family and the relationships between the family, the body and the house. Furthermore he covers the essential concepts of family and its relationship to the house. In the real world a family, household, morphology and function, gender, generation and class are closely intertwined. (Shimizu 1988: 1-8) Through the temporal, spatial and cultural context lifestyle patterns that differ from the previous contexts are being made. In Japan in the early 20th century dominated a system *ie* (house system), which is defined as a series of unrelated processes controlling people's access to the house and use of the house, space, property and domestic equipment through the life

[5] In Japan, for example, training in one of the traditional art forms (dance, arranging flowers, calligraphy, classical music, tea ceremony) expresses the affiliation with the middle class, who can afford such expence. As a pupil of artistic disciplines the daughters of wealth families would develop *seishin* 精神 or "spiritual power", a quality that will help them cope with the "requirements and reality of everyday life." In the same time they are trying to reach the *yūgen* 幽玄 or "mysterious subtlety", which is besides concealing, wrapping, arranging and connecting a reflection of the aesthetics of Japanese art. In addition to spiritual power, it is also important to move around the space that is adapted to the living environment in traditional houses, where the art has developed too. (Visočnik 2009)

[6] When connecting space, body and time we can not ignore the concept of "habitus", which acts as a system of structures that make up the type of environment and it is produced in connection to the economic and social relations. It derives from the earliest education and is a prerequisite for coordination of the practices and to practice coordination. As a product of history, it produces individual and collective practices, and hence history, in accordance with the schemes promoted by history. Habitus or structured structures are therefore constant, and organized systems based on symbolic order. It is a principle of creation and structuring of practices and representations, which can be objectively "directed" and "prescribed" in such a way that it does not feel the constraints or following the rules. (Bourdieu 2002: 92-93)

cycle and across different generations. The house system includes both material and symbolic dimensions of the house, possessions and equipment (Shimizu 1988: 45).

Some facilities, such as hospitals, prisons, museums, shrines (Foucault 1991) require different physical practice than the places we are accustomed to in everyday life: to enter into these places, we have to withdraw from everyday body movements and gestures and take physical performative rules applied in these areas. These spaces are defined by certain performances and rituals, which are embodied, and certain body actions are required within a given space. On the other hand these performances and body practices constitute the social imagination and materiality of such spaces.[7] Such special areas that require specific behavior and rituals in the living environment can also be found in Japanese house like rooms, where the worship of gods is performed or the guests are admited and welcomed with a bow in the formal sitting on heels (*seiza* 正座). There are also significant transitions between rooms, where opening a sliding door requires a certain movement (See Visočnik 2011: 163-170) as it is reflected in the spatial orientation of the traditional Japanese house[8] within ritual practices. The ritual is performed as a ritual performance, physical prescribed and transformative in the meaning and effect. Thus the ritual initiated the use of body, space control, and determines the time. Victor Turner (1970: 19) explains the ritual as prescribed behavior at a certain occasion without technological routines, which refers to the belief in the mystical power. The symbol is in this context the smallest unit that still retains the specific characteristics of ritual behavior, it is the ultimate unit of specific structures in the ritual context.

The rituals are prescribed by the community according to the annual schedules of festivals and celebrations. Throughout the history of Japan three calendar systems have developed: primitive agrarian calendar, old Chinese lunar-solar calendar and the modern Gregorian calendar. Beside that there is no clear border between the two great religions, Buddhism and Shintoism and in most Japanese homes in the countryside, and sometimes also in the cities, we can still find Buddhist (*butsudan* 仏壇) and Shinto (*kamidana* 神棚) "altars" as the center of daily life (for the examples see Visočnik 2011: 137-145). To say it shortly, the Shinto sanctuary focuses directly on the welfare of family, home and community, while the Buddhist altar, on the other

[7] We know that all assembly spaces such as restaurants, cafes, churches, libraries, etc.., are spaces for socializing and they require different behavior and morality. Social space is the product of various social practices. This space is called predetermined social space within which individuals and social groups represent themselves and are part of the collective representations. Representative practices are saturated with physical symbolism, spectacle and performative actions. (Foucault 1991)

[8] In the past, all life cycle rituals were performed in the house, so the house was adapted to all such situation, for example the forming of one large space by removing barriers during weddings or funerals for large number of people.

hand, reminds of the line of duty and responsibility to *ie* 家 ("house") and revives the connection with the deceased. They both protect the living and comfort the dead. Worship of the deities required certain rituals, which implies a certain behavior and body movement. This means that when bringing gifts or pray, people sit on their knees, hands are put together and the respect is payed – the course of the ritual depends on the religion. (Furuie 2003: 110-111)

All behavioral patterns spatially and temporally coordinate the basis of personal relationships. They include a fundamental dimension of experience and are a necessary condition to psychological maturity and social life. Without capacity of spatial perception, spatial orientation and mastery of spatial concepts the human would be incapable of effective existence and movement, and would not have been able to coordinate aspects of their behavior with the behavior of others in social life. We know that variations occur between societies because of the selective ephasizes of spatial relations and naming things.

5. Conclusion

Creating a space is a fundamental activity performed by all people. With regards and implementation of activities specific to a certain space, they subjugate to the community in which they live, which is also important for creation of a feeling of belonging to a particular place. These feelings are important for the construction of the invidual's identity.

At the same time in the area to which he belongs, the individual carries out certain activities learned from predecessors and they represent the connecting with the past. Identity is created through the knowledge of the individual's behaviour during daily reflective activities. Everybody observes the situation of our activities as a part of reflexive awareness. This awareness has the discursive features in which we are interested in. Thus, the body is adapted to living environment, which is shown in Japanese house through movement in it: taking off your shoes at the entrance, a bow for welcoming, sitting on the floor on *tatami*, opening sliding doors and other barriers. Such movement of the body in the house requires rules of behavior associated with its use and so the rituals associated with the life cycle impact on the living environment.

Through knowledge of the individual's behavior in daily reflective activities in the residential environment the self-consciousness or "self-identity" is formed. By creating a dwelling space the individual creates a sense of familiarity in space, which may vary according to culture and social classes, but it is necessary to conceptualize it with the meaning transcending physical boundaries of the dwelling as a shelter. These definitions together create a dimension of evaluation in research of the housing and their components that are important in determining the formation of practices and housing spaces.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Barrie, Thomas (1996) *Spiritual Path, Sacred Place: Myth, Ritual and Meanings in Architecture*. Boston in London: Shambhala.

Bechtel, Robert B. (1989) 'Behaviour in the House: A Cross-cultural Comparison Using Behaviour-setting Methodology.' In *Housing, Culture, and Design: A Comparative Perspective.* Setha M. Low, Erve Chambers, Amos Rapoport, eds. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. Pp 165–181.

Berque, Augustin (1994) 'Identification of the Self in Relation to the Environment.' In *Japanese Sense of Self.* Nancy R. Rosenberg, ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Pp. 93–105.

Bourdieu, Pierre (2002) *Praktični čut I in Praktični čut II*. Ljubljana: Studia humanitatis.

Douglas, Mary (1996 [1970]) *Natural Symbols: Explorations in Cosmology* (With a New Introduction). London in New York: Routledge.

Foucault, Michael (1991 [1971]) *Vednost - oblast - subjekt*. Ljubljana: Krt.

Furuie, Shinpei (2003) 'Sumai. Sono atarashii mikata.' In *Kurashi no naka no minzokugaku. Ichi nichi*. Takanori Shintani, Emiko Namihira, Yoji Yukawa, ed. Tōkyō: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan.

Gupta, Akhil in Ferguson, James, ed. (2001 [1997]) *Culture, Power, Place. Explorations in Critical Anthropology*. Durham and London: Duke University Press.

Howell, Sandra C., and Tentokali, Vana (1989) 'Domestic Privacy: Gender, Culture, and Development Issues.' In *Housing, Culture, and Design: A Comparative Perspective.* Setha M. Low, Erve Chambers, Amos Rapoport, ed. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. Pp. 281–297.

Kurashima, Akira (2007) *Shintai gihō to shakaigakuteki ninshiki (Telesne tehnike in sociološka spoznanja)*. Tōkyō: Sekaishisōsha.

Lawrence, Roderick J. (1989) 'Translating Anthropological Concepts into Architectural Practice.' In *Housing, Culture, and Design: A Comparative Perspective.* Setha M. Low, Erve Chambers in Amos Rapoport, ed. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. Pp. 89–106.

Lebra Sugiyama, Takie, ed. (1992) *Japanese Social Organization.* Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

Low, Setha M. (2003) 'Embodied Space(s). Anthropological Theories of Body, Space, and Culture.' *Space & Culture* 6(1): 9−18.

Low, Setha M., and Lawrence-Zúñiga, Denise, eds. (2003) 'Locating Culture.' In *The Anthropology of Space and Place. Locating Culture*. Malden, Oxford, Victoria, Berlin: Blackwell Publishing. Pp. 1–47.

Lozanovska, Mirjana (2002) 'Architectural Frontier/Spatial Story. The Problematic of Representing the Everyday.' *Space & Culture* 5(2): 140−151.

Macphee, Marybeth (2004) 'The Weight of the Past in the Experience of Health: Time, Embodiment, and Cultural Change in Morocco.' *Ethos* 32(3): 374–396.

Merleau-Ponty, Maurice (1978) *Fenomenologija percepcije*. Sarajevo: IP »Veselin Masleša«.

Muršič, Rajko (2006) 'Nova paradigma antropologije prostora: prostorjenje in človeška tvornost.' *Glasnik SED* 46(3, 4): 48–54.

Namihira, Emiko (2005) *Karada no bunkajinruigaku*. Tōkyō: Taishukan.

Ogita, Makoto (1974) 'Jūseikatsu mondai no kenkyū ni tsuite. 'V: *Gendai no seikatsu kūkan ron*. Kazuo Tatsumi et al. ed. Tōkyō: Keiso shobo. Pp. 95–108.

Ōkawa, Naomi (1986) *Sumai no jinruigaku.* Tōkyō: Heibonsha.

Rapport, Nigel in Overing, Joanna (2000) *Social and Cultural Anthropology: The Key Concepts.* London in New York: Routledge.

Shimizu, Akitoshi (1988) *Ie, shintai, shakai – Kazoku no shakai jinruigaku.* Tōkyō: Kōbundō.

Turner, Victor (1970 [1969]) *The Forest of Symbols: Aspects of Ndembu Ritual.* Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press.

Visočnik, Nataša (2009) 'Učitelji ali roboti?: proces poučevanja plesa na Japonskem.' *Glas. Slov. etnol. druš.* 49(1/2): 14–22.

Visočnik, Nataša (2011) *Hiša kot prostor identitete: oblikovanje bivalne kulture in percepcije prostora in telesa v bivalnem okolju na Japonskem.* Županičva knižnica 34. Ljubljana: Filozofska fakulteta, Oddelek za etnologijo in kulturno antropologijo.

Watsuji, Tetsurō (1994 [1935]) *Fūdo*. *Ningengakuteki kōsatsu*. Tōkyō: Iwanami Shoten.

Yuasa, Yasuo (1987) *The Body*. *Toward an Eastern Mind-Body Theory*. New York: State University of New York Press.

STUDIA UBB PHILOLOGIA, LVIII, 1, 2013, p. 141 - 146
(RECOMMENDED CITATION)

THE LEONARDO DA VINCI OF JAPAN: HIRAGA GENNAI (1728–1780)

GIOVANNI BORRIELLO*

ABSTRACT. ***The Leonardo Da Vinci of Japan: Hiraga Gennai (1728–1780).*** Hiraga Gennai (1728–1780), eclectic figure of the Tokugawa period, author, artist and scientist, is compared to the Italian Leonardo Da Vinci for his multiple activities. Besides his writings and his medical and scientific activities, Hiraga Gennai will be remembered for his "inventions", among which we find the *jinshiki*, the *heisengi*, the *tarumomeitoru*, the *Gennai gushi* etc.

Keywords: Hiraga Gennai, Leonardo Da Vinci, Japan, Dutch, Rangaku, inventions

REZUMAT. ***Hiraga Gennai (1728-1780): Leonardo Da Vinci al Japoniei***. Hiraga Gennai reprezintă un personaj ecletic aparținând erei Tokugawa, asemuit lui Leonardo Da Vinci datorită diverselor sale preocupări de ordin literar, artistic, medical și științific. Pe lângă acestea, numele lui Hiraga Gennai a rămas în istorie pentru „invenții" precum: *jinshiki*, *heisengi*, *tarumomeitoru*, *Gennai gushi* etc.

Cuvinte-cheie: Hiraga Gennai, Leonardo Da Vinci, Japonia, limba olandeză/olandez, Rangaku, invenții

The author, artist and scientist Hiraga Gennai (1728–1780)[1] is without doubt one of the most eclectic figures of the Tokugawa Japan (1603–1867). He gained a wide recognition in his country, but he is still little known abroad.

This paper focuses on the technical and scientific activities carried out by Gennai in Japan and in particular on his inventions, reason for which many scholars compared him to Leonardo Da Vinci and made him one of the protagonists of the *rangaku* (Dutch Learning, and by extension "Western learning").

Since he was a boy, Gennai showed his interest in sciences. At the age of 9, serving the *daimyō* Matsudaira Yoritaka (1711–1771), he became a *kusuribōzu* (person in charge of medicine)[2].

* Giovanni Borriello PhD, Lecturer in History of East Asia, University of Firenze (Italy) and Lecturer in History and Institutions of Asia, University of Roma Tre (Italy). giovanni.borriello77@gmail.com

[1] For a detailed account of the life and work of Hiraga Gennai, see: Hubert Maës, *Hiraga Gennai et son Temps*, Paris, Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient, 1970; Jōfuku Isamu, *Hiraga Gennai*, Tokyo, Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1971.

[2] Mizutani, Futō. *Hiraga Gennai*, Tokyo: Shōka shobō, 1896, p. 2.

Very soon the attention of Yoritaka, willing to gather around him talented persons, was drawn to the predisposition that the young Gennai showed to the "Natural history" (*honzōgaku*) exercised also by him. According to *Kiku mama no ki* (A Record of Things just as I Heard them) by Kimura Mokurō (1774–1856), Yoritaka liked to observe a great number of Chinese and Japanese birds, quadrupeds, herbs, fishes, beasts, seashells, metals and rocks, copy their forms, writing their names in Chinese, Japanese and Dutch. Very soon Gennai became the assistant of the *daimyō* in this field. In particular, he took care of the medical herb garden in Takamatsu, the Ritsurin-en (currently a public garden), and he tried to cultivate on the national territory two foreign crops that the *bakufu* was obliged to import every year, investing huge amounts of money: the *ginseng* and the sugarcane.

Later Gennai travelled around the country to collect and classify new samples of medical herbs, job that he describes as follows: "My job consisted mainly in collecting different kinds of herbs and distinguish the efficacious ones from the useless ones, I was sent on journeys to collect and take with me things like uncommon herbs, birds, beasts, stones, seashells that excited curiosity or were considered worthy of being in our possess".[3]

In all likelihood the *daimyō* of Takamatsu wanted that Gennai would become a "doctor of the *han*" (*han i*): after all medicine was the only career open to the scientists and in particular to those who excelled in *honzōgaku*. However, Hiraga wanted to use his scientific knowledge in a completely different way from the tradition and he refused to study *honzōgaku* under the guide of Uemura Tokuan, the most outstanding doctor of the *han*, replying: "The doctors, with their long sleeves, are like bronzes. I'm of humble origins, my father was a low-ranking soldier (*tomosaki*) in the army (*buyaku*). To become a bronze with long sleeves would appear me really an unworthy destiny"[4].

In fact the choice of Gennai had deeper reasons: the possibility that he refused his own carrier because of a complex due to the humbly of his social conditions and the jealousies that he awakened in his fellows of higher birth because of the favor found at the *daimyō* is not improbable, but it's more plausible to think that Gennai was repelled by the idea to live all his life confined in his native *han*. In fact, in his thoughts already a precise project took shape: to get rid of the restrictions due to his rank and official charge, to pursue the final aim to serve the *bakufu* directly.

1752 represents a crucial year in the life of Gennai. In fact, in this year he decided to leave his appointment of *kusuribōzu* at the Matsudairas to transfer to Nagasaki, where he stayed for one year.[5] In that city his contacts with the Dutch community (mostly with Dutch scientists, physicians and artists) were very important first in Nagasaki, from 1641 in Hirado and then on the artificial island of Deshima,

[3] Hiraga, Gennai. *Hiraga Gennai zenshū*, Tokyo, Hagiwara Seibun Kan, 1935, p. 588.
[4] Hubert, Maës. *Hiraga Gennai et son temps*, cit., p. 14.
[5] Mizutani, Futō. *Hiraga Gennai*, cit., p. 4.

after the adoption of the *sakoku* policy by the Tokugawa Shogunate, that prevented foreigners from entering Japan and limited in large measure the circulation of those who were allowed to stay in the country (as the Chinese or Dutch community). The short stay in Nagasaki was crucial for the technical and scientific activities and in particular for the subsequent inventions of Gennai, as in this period he had the possibility to observe the models of objects introduced in Japan by the Dutch.

His interests in the Western sciences continued to grow thanks to the various meetings with the representatives of the Dutch legations in Edo, in particular in 1760 his pharmaceutical knowledge favorably impressed Sugita Genpaku (1733–1817), author in 1815 of the writing entitled *Rangaku kotohajime* (The Beginning of Dutch Studies), in which he recounts how a Dutch doctor of the group was struck by Hiraga's knowledge to the extent that later he sent him a copy of the essay of the famous Flemish botanist Rembertus Dodonaeus (1517–1585), entitled *Cruijdeboeck* (The new herbal, 1554) that revealed itself to be a precious source of information (and illustration) for the compilation of his *Butsurui hinshitsu* (Classification of various materials, 1763)[6]. The first invention of Gennai most probably is the *jinshiki*, a kind of compass of about twenty centimeters composed merely by a magnetic needle spinning around an axle collocated in the center of a quadrant. On the quadrant the twelve directions were indicated and finally, the whole was put on a glass plate. Most probably it was a copy of a Dutch compass, that he had the possibility to see during his stay in Nagasaki. According to its inscription, the object – unfortunately lost during the Second World War – most probably was made in 1755.

In 1763 Gennai made the *heisengi*, a water spirit level that he offered to the future Minister Kimura Wataru. It was a 33 cm high wooden box containing a water spirit level visible through a lens. Also in this case, the original is lost, but there are photographic reproductions.

It was during the stay of the Dutch in Edo, in the second year of the Meiwa period (1765) that Gennai had the occasion to illustrate to the interpret Yoshio Kōzaemon (1724–1800), with whom he had a good relationship from a long time, the object called *tarumomeitoru*. It was a copper plate on which a bar was fixed. The rise and fall of a certain liquid of unknown nature in the bar indicated the temperature. According to the interprets, the same Dutch had to reflect for a decade to make that device, which value exceeded the hundred *ryō.* But Gennai understood its mechanism at a glance and affirmed: "For me it's easier to make a thermometer than to find something in my pockets. It's enough to know the principle of the *yin* and the *yang*"[7] and he immediately explained the method for creating the device. Among the bystanders the only to believe in Gennai were the interpret Yoshio and Gennai's friend, Sugita Genpaku and Nakagawa Jun'an (1739–1786). A few years later Gennai realized the device alone.

[6] Stanleigh H. Jones. *Scholar, Scientist, Popular Author, Hiraga Gennai 1728–1780*, Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1971, pp. 19–20.

[7] Hiraga, Gennai. *Hiraga Gennai zenshū*, cit., p. 582.

Another well-known invention of Gennai is the *Gennai gushi* or *Sugawara gushi*, an ornamental female comb, with a handle in aloe-wood and decorated with flakes of silver and teeth in silver or in ivory. This item had an overwhelming success among the women of the period. The reason of such a great popularity has to be find in Gennai's genius, who had the idea to offer it to one of the famous courtesan of Yoshiwara, the famous Hinazuru, recounting her that the comb was realized in a very rare wood imported from Nagasaki and he asked her to use it for the embellishment of her hair.[8] Very soon the comb became an object of desire for every woman of the capital and remained in vogue still many years after the death of its inventor. The invention goes back to the fifth year of the Anei period (1776).

As far as the *kinkarakawa*, contrary to what its name suggests, it wasn't real leather, but cardboard realized in order to look like it. According to the *Hiraga Gennai shōden* "it was made wrinkling the paper covered by *shibu*, shaped and then painted with various colors, decorated with gold and silver. With this material people realized every kind of objects, for example covers for books. It was sold in huge quantities".[9] Also this invention, as the previous one, goes back about the fifth year of the Anei period (1776).

Still to 1776 goes back the invention that contributed to increase significantly the fame of Gennai: the *erekiteru*. It was an elementary electrostatic generator (Japanese *erekiteru* is the abbreviation of *erekiterisiteito*, from the Dutch *elektriciteit*) and it's supposed that Gennai made about 15 devices, from which currently exist only two samples: one, seriously damaged, is exhibited in the *Hiraga sensei chinretsukan* in Shido, while the other is held at the Museum of Communications (*Tenshin hakubutsukan*) in Tokyo[10]. The device is made of a painted wooden box decorated with red designs on a white background, and it measures 28 cm high, 55 cm long and 26 cm wide. On its cover there are the names of *Mars* and *Venus*, written in Latin alphabet and accompanied by the corresponding symbols ♂ and ♀, indicating the male and female sex.

On one of its sides there is a handle linked to a glass cylinder put upon the bottom of the box. When the handle is operated, the cylinder turns against a silver-covered glass cushion. The static electricity produced in this way is transmitted through a copper disk to another glass cylinder, which is perpendicular to the first one and contains iron powder and isolated from the bottom of the box through a layer of resin. From this accumulator starts upwards a cooper wire that, passing through a hole made in the cover, conduces the electricity outside the box. Devices of this kind existed in Europe already from many decades, and they arrived in Nagasaki already from the years of the Meiwa period (1764–1771). So "the invention" of Gennai in fact was the copy of a Dutch original, as it's indicated by the traditions concerning the construction of this device: during his second journey in Nagasaki,

[8] Hubert, Maës. *Hiraga Gennai et son temps*, cit., p. 146.
[9] Hubert, Maës. *Hiraga Gennai et son temps*, cit., p. 146.
[10] Hubert, Maës. *Hiraga Gennai et son temps*, cit., p. 151.

Gennai could obtained, with the aid of an interpret (a certain Nishi Zenzaburō, 1717–1768), a damaged *erekiteru*. When, after many efforts and without any knowledge in the field of the electricity he finally managed to repair it, he made others using the first one as model.

It was an old belief in Japan, that, according the theory of the elements, the ill parts of the human body would be burnt by the fire. Now the *erekiteru* repaired by Hiraga had the characteristic of producing sparks in contact with the human body: which application could be better than those in the medical field? Its same inventor was firmly persuaded of the therapeutic properties of the *erekiteru*, that "managed to take out the fire from the ill part of the human body"! In a letter Gennai affirms to be persuaded of being able to treat his patient, a certain Rikken, in "a week of treatment"[11]. The letter doesn't precise neither the illness of the patient, nor the seriousness of the disease. In every case, the belief was spread soon, that the *erekiteru* would be efficacious against the low back pain and the "tiredness due to the walking". The treatment consisted in the application of an electric charge to the body of the patient drawing up the copper wire to the ill part. Shiba Kōkan (1747–1818) doesn't seem very persuaded of the therapeutic efficaciousness of the contraption, as it can be deduced from his comment in the *Shunparō hikki*: "Big and small lords went to see it (the *erekiteru*). Gennai had to this object his fame of being an outstanding man. However, the contraption had no other virtue except from making fly pieces of paper and making sparkle the flames: it has no effects on the organism."[12] The present company and the same inventor were persuaded of the beneficial nature of the treatment proved by the blue flame that "came out" from the body of the sick person: the magician Hiraga proved the truthfulness of the old tradition according which the human body contained fire. However, it's not completely to exclude the hypothesis that the contraption of Gennai had in fact a certain efficacy in the treatment of the patients: from the end of the XIX century in the Western world began the studies about the therapeutic effect of the static electricity and scholars reached the conclusion that it could be applied with beneficial results on the human body. In fact, the electrotherapy makes use of the electric currency to stimulate the circulation and the assimilation of the nutritive substances by the tissues they pass. The treatment is useful in case of distortions, muscular inflammation, arthritis and rheumatism, neuritis and neuralgia[13]. These beneficial effects can be obtained with the application of a considerably higher voltage than the device of Hiraga is able to produce. However, they show that his claims to treat the patients with the *erekiteru* were not completely unfounded.

Gennai received a lots of invitations from the important persons of his time for "sessions" with his *erekiteru* and he didn't miss the opportunity to mock the hosts without their knowing, acting as a great magician, making them pay for his "services",

[11] Hiraga, Gennai. *Hiraga Gennai zenshū*, cit., p. 652.
[12] Quoted in Hubert, Maës. *Hiraga Gennai et son temps*, cit., p. 153.
[13] Stanleigh, H. Jones. *Scholar, Scientist, Popular Author, Hiraga Gennai 1728–1780*, cit., p. 82.

fixing the conditions of the session in the smallest details. It had to be performed in a cool room, "because he suffered a lot from the hot because of his obesity and he arrived to require a number of collaborators between seven and eight men"![14] Years after Gennai's death some showmen used the device during their own spectacles. During one of these shows, held in the '30 of the XIX century, the electric generator was presented as "the *erekiteru*" introduced for the first time by Hiraga Gennai". The event attired such a big crowd, that the local police was obliged to intervene[15]. Probably his "inventor" never would have been able to improve the generator, even if his life hadn't ended prematurely. Nonetheless, the invention of Gennai contributed surely to excite the interests of other scholars in the electrostatic energy, playing a decisive role in the development of sciences in Japan of the XIX century.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Maës, Hubert. *Hiraga Gennai et son Temps*, Paris: Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient, 1970.

Isamu, Jōfuku. *Hiraga Gennai*, Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1971.

Mizutani Futō. *Hiraga Gennai*, Tokyo: Shōka shobō, 1896.

Hiraga, Gennai. *Hiraga Gennai zenshū*, Tokyo: Hagiwara Seibun Kan, 1935.

Stanleigh, H. Jones. *Scholar, Scientist, Popular Author, Hiraga Gennai 1728–1780*, Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1971.

[14] Hiraga, Gennai. *Hiraga Gennai zenshū*, cit., pp. 652–653.

[15] Stanleigh, H. Jones. *Scholar, Scientist, Popular Author, Hiraga Gennai 1728–1780*, cit., p. 84.

STUDIA UBB PHILOLOGIA, LVIII, 1, 2013, p. 147 - 160
(RECOMMENDED CITATION)

READING THE TEXT AS A *PRASASTI* (PANEGYRIC): A FRESH APPROACH TOWARDS KING KWANGGAET'O STELE

KEN GARDINER WITH PANKAJ MOHAN[1]

ABSTRACT. ***Reading the Text as a Prasasti (panegyric): A Fresh Approach towards King Kwanggaet'o Stele.*** Kwanggaet'o stele, commemorating the divine genealogy and military conquests of King Kwanggaet'o of Koguryo lay concealed in obscurity until 1876 when it was re-discovered. Soon after its re-discovery the stele caught the attention of scholars from various parts of the world. The paper points out that the purpose of the stele was to glorify King Kwanggaet'o and it sought to achieve this in part by blackening his enemies and exaggerating their power. No part of the text has caused more controversy than the statement that claimed Paekche and Silla as originally subjects of Koguryo and projected King Kwanggaet'o as a victor in a battle with the "Wa' 'that crossed the sea, defeated Paekche and Silla and made them their subjects'. There is no evidence other than the stele's statement (and one might add very little probability) that Paekche had in any sense been 'subject' to Koguryo before 391, and Yamato was not in a position to wage war on and subdue the southern Korean states, since it was not in control of Western Japan. The stele is intended to convey the impression that the King of Koguryo was not a naked aggressor, but as a sacred ruler, a *cakravartin* (the Wheel-turning Ideal King) who came to the assistance of his neighbors against a foreign invader and emerged victorious in all the battles he waged.

Keywords: Early Korea, Koguryo, Yamato, Epigraphy, Korea-Japan Relations

REZUMAT. ***Lectura unui text ca Prasasti (panegiric): O nouă abordare a monumentului regelui Kwanggaet'o.*** Stela lui Kwanggaet'o, comemorând genealogia divină şi cuceririle militare ale regelui Kwanggaet'o din Koguryo, a rămas în obscuritate

[1] Ken Gardiner (1932-2011) obtained his Ph.D degree from the School of Oriental and African Studies, the University of London in the field of Korean history in 1964, and commenced teaching at the Australian University in 1966 from where he retired in 1992 as a senior lecturer. He wrote several books and research papers on Korean and Chinese history, including the *Early History of Korea* (The University of Hawaii Press, 1969)

Pankaj Mohan completed his PhD in the field of early Korean history at the Australian National University, Canberra under the guidance of Dr Ken Gardiner. Prior to taking up his present position at the Academy of Korean Studies as a Professor of Korean Studies he taught Korean Studies/Asian for approx 15 years at the University of Sydney and the University of Copenhagen. E-mail: pankaj@aks.ac.kr.

The present paper was originally a seminar paper, presented by the late Ken Gardiner at the Australian National University. Although it is a result of Dr Gardiner's incisive and wide-ranging knowledge of early Korean history and painstaking research on Koguryo, Pankaj Mohan acted as the editor of the paper. In editing the manuscript, he elaborated a few points and added footnotes as well as part of the concluding section and sought to give a sense of wholeness to the posthumous work of his mentor. Pankaj Mohan wishes to gratefully acknowledge financial support from Australia-Korea Foundation for editing Dr Gardiner's unpublished manuscripts on early Korean history and Mrs Merril Gardiner for her cooperation.

până în 1876 când a fost redescoperită. Curând după redescoperirea ei, stela a captat atenţia cercetătorilor din diferite părţi ale lumii. Lucrarea subliniază că rolul monumentului a fost de a-l glorifica pe regele Kwanggaet'o, ceea ce şi-a propus să facă prin defăimarea adversarilor regelui şi exacerbarea puterii sale. Nici un fragment din text nu a cauzat mai multe controverse decât afirmaţia că Paekche şi Silla au fost la origine supuşii Koguryo şi că regele Kwanggaet'o a fost victorios în bătălia cu „Wa", care „au trecut marea, au învins Paekche şi Silla şi i-au făcut supuşii lor". Nu există alte dovezi, în afară de afirmaţia de pe monument, că Paekche ar fi fost supus în vreun fel statului Koguryo înainte de 391 (iar probabilitatea e foarte mică), iar Yamato nu se afla în poziţia de a purta război şi a supune statele coreene sudice, fiindcă Yamato nu controla vestul Japoniei. Stela e menită să transmită impresia că regele Koguryo nu a fost un agresor violent, ci un conducător sacru, un *cakravartin* („Regele ideal care întoarce roata"), care a venit în ajutorul vecinilor săi împotriva invadatorilor străini şi a ieşit învingător din toate bătăliile.

Cuvinte-cheie: Coreea timpurie, Koguryo, Yamato, epigrafie, relaţiile dintre Coreea şi Japonia

The Kwanggaet'o Stele was erected in 414 at Jian county, just to the north of the Yalu River valley in Northeast China, in honour of King Kwanggaet'o of Koguryo, who had died in the previous year. The stele bears a summary of the late king's reign and achievements running to 41 vertical lines of 41 characters each (except for the last column) inscribed on all the four faces. Soon after it was rediscovered accidentally in 1876, the inscription was roughly cleared of the centuries of old outgrowth of moss, and rubbings were made by a few Chinese scholars, it launched a thousand papers and books, written by scholars from the three East Asian countries. By 1882 or 1884 the first known rubbing to reach the world outside China was brought to Japan by Sakawa Kageaki, a captain in the Japanese army. Lodged in Tokyo, the rubbing was studied by various Japanese scholars.[2] Yokoi Tadanao was one of the first scholars to publish his version, and it is remarkable that his article written in 1889 formed the basis of the first account of the stele in a European language published by Maurice Courant in *Journal Asiatique*, in 1898[3]. Courant relied upon Yokoi's version of the text and upon subsequent studies by such Japanese scholars as Naka Michio and others[4]. Courant had not himself seen the inscription, nor did he analyze its contents.

[2] Wang Jianqun and Pak Chong-tae have discussed in detail the background of the dioscovery of Kwanggaet'o stele and the process through which the first rubbings were made. See Wang Jianqun, *Haotaiwangbei yanjiu*, Jilin renmin chuban she, 1984, chapters 1 and 2; and Pak Chong-tae, 'Kwanggaet'o Wangnungbi-ui yon'gu wa ku tonghyang punsok', Ph.D. dissertation, Kyonghui University, Seoul, pp.4-6. For interesting biographical notes on Sakawa Kageaki, see Saeki Arikyo, 'Kokaido oryo hibun saikento no tameno josho, sanbo honbu to chosen kenkyu', In *Nihon Rekishi*, 287, 1972; and his monograph *Kokaidoohi*, Tokyo: Risosha, 1974.

[3] Maurice Courant, "Stèle chinoise du royaume de Ko Kou Rye", *Journal Asiatique*, March-April 1898,:210-238.

[4] For an overview of the relevant works by these Japanese scholars, see Pak Chong-tae, Kwanggaet'o Wangnungbi-ui yon'gu wa ku tonghyang punsok', Ph.D. dissertation, Kyonghui University, Seoul, pp. 80-116;Takeda Yukio, Kokurishi to to ajia: Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1989, pp.1-14; *Kokaido-o hi genseki takuhon shusei*, Tokyo : Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 1988; and Takeda, Yukio. "Studies on the King Kwanggaito Inscription and Their Basis." *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko* 47, 1989, pp. 57-90. Also see Suzuki Yasutami, 'Ilbon-esoui kwanggaet'o wang pi t'akbon-kwa pimun yongu' In Koguryo yonguhoe ed. , *Kwanggaet'owangpi yongu 100 nyon* , Hakyonmunhwasa, 1996; So Yong-su,

Not until the early years of the twentieth century was this somewhat inaccessible monument actually visited by a European scholar. Of those who did not make the pilgrimage, the most reliable was Edouard Chavannes, who also brought back to France what is probably still the only rubbing of the inscription in Europe, given him by the Chinese marshal Zhao Erxuan. Detailed photograph of this rubbing appeared in the article which Chavannes devoted to the culture of this old Koguryo kingdom in T'oung-Pao, in 1908.[5] By this time numerous articles and individual studies of the Kwanggaet'o stele had appeared in Chinese, by Wang Zhixiu, Yang Shou-jing and others.[6] Moreover, in 1909 the Japanese began large-scale excavations in Jian, which continued for 20 years, and culminated in the massive two-volume T'ung-k'ou, published by Ikeuchi Hiroshi in 1939 and 1940.[7] As well as looking at the monument, Ikeuchi and other scholars had excavated the various tumulus burials in the surrounding area, the so-called "Tomb of the General" is now believed by many to be the actual tomb of King Kwanggaet'o. In one of the tombs, the tomb of Moduru, Ikeuchi discovered a painted inscription which showed certain similarities to the opening sentences of the Kwanggaet'o Stele; however, the painted inscription was in an even worse state of preservation than the text on the stele.

Owing to the political vicissitudes of the 1940's and fifties, it was not until the latter half of the 1950's that study of the inscription was resumed, although Boleslaw Szczesniak published the first English translation of the inscription in Monumenta Nipponica in 1951.[8] Like Courant, Szczesniak had never seen the stele, and his translation is entirely based upon the work of Japanese scholars; significantly, he used the Japanese rather than the Korean versions of the proper names on the stele.

Of the numerous studies of this text which have appeared since the late 1950's, we will have room to mention only few. From this vast industry—a complete bibliography of this subject would certainly list approximately one thousand articles and books in Korean, Chinese and Japanese languages—it is clear that the inscription constitutes a historical text of considerable importance, throwing an uncertain and highly debatable light upon a period which verges on utter obscurity.

For the first three centuries A.D. approximately the first three centuries of the existence of Koguryo, the Chinese dynastic histories and the first five chapters of the Koguryo annals in the 12th century *Samguk Sagi* gives us a sizeable body of source material. Unfortunately, this material peters out in the fourth and fifth centuries, when the *Samguk sagi* ceases to be an independent source, and the Chinese histories become more interested in the problems of a deeply divided China than describing the countries

---

'Kwanggaet'owang pimun-ui yongusa-jok komt'o', *Koguryo yongu* 1, 1995; and Yi Song-si, *Mandurojin Kodae*, Seoul: Sangin, 2001, pp.35-79.

[5] Chavannes, Edouard. "Les Monuments de l'Ancien Royaume Coréen de Kao-Keou-Li". *T'oung Pao* 2 9 (1908):236-265.

[6] Wang Jianqun in his pionnering study *Haotaiwangbei yanjiu* (Jilin renmin chubanshe, 1984) and Geng Tiehua in his book *Haotaiwang bei yi qian wu bai liu shi nian zai* (Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan, 2003) have discussed the Chinese historiography of the stele in detail.

[7] Ikeuchi Hiroshi, *T'ung-kou.* I. The Ancient Site of Kao-kou-li in Chi-an District, T'ung-hua Province, Manchoukuo; II. Kao-kou-lian Tombs with Wall Paintings in Chi-an District, T'ung-hua Province, Manchoukuo.

[8] Szczesniak, Boleslaw. The Kotaio Monument. Monumenta Nipponica 7,1951, pp. 242- 268.

and cultures outside China's frontiers. What reference we do have to Koguryo at this time makes it clear, however, that it was just at this time when freed from the shadow of the Chinese empire, Koguryo reached its highest point of power and cultural development. This impression is confirmed by the impressive tombs of Jian, with their splendid painted murals. Even more recently, the tomb of Jin, Inspector General of Yu Circuit, discovered 25 kilometers outside Pyongyang in 1976, continues to bear out the same picture of cultural efflorescence.

The inscription thus has a unique value as a testimony from a "Golden Age' of which almost all reference has disappeared from surviving historical literature. It has, however, quite another importance, and one which has, more than anything else, given rise to acrimonious debate. The expansion of Koguryo, which eventually brought under its control almost half of the area later known as Manchuria, including the whole Liaodong peninsula, and almost two-third of the Korean peninsula, was a response to pressures from several directions. To the northwest, around the Liao river, the Murong Xianbei had established a state which succeeded at one time in conquering the north China plain and sacking the Koguryo capital. To the south, in Southwestern Korea, another group of northern warriors established a kingdom based on one of the old Han tribe areas. This kingdom, known to history as Paekche, put up a long and protracted resistance to Koguryo. Frequently defeated, it was never eliminated, and probably was responsible, more than any other single factor, for the failure of Koguryo to unite Korea. In 371 the then king of Koguryo was killed by a flying arrow while defending the city of Pyongyang (which was not then the Koguryo capital) against a Paekche invasion. East of Paekche was an area where the various tribal units belonging to the old Pyon-han or Pyon-chin confederacy had failed to coalesce into a major kingdom. Although petty kingdoms arose here and lasted into the sixth century, the political disunity remained until the whole area was absorbed into the growing kingdom of Silla. But in the fifth century when the Kwanggaet'o stele was erected, Silla's hour was still far off, and Silla itself was merely a petty state, forced by circumstances into the role of subordinate ally or even a client, of Koguryo.[9]

The great imponderable in the history of the southern part of the Korean peninsula at this period is the role of Japan. To our understanding of Japanese history in the fourth and the fifth centuries three major barriers oppose themselves; the paucity of primary source material, the highly tendentious account of the surviving sources, and even more tendentious way in which these sources have been interpreted in modern times under the impulse of nationalism. The early Japanese histories, the *Kojiki* and the *Nihon Shoki*, both dating from the early eighth century, give a strongly propagandist account of how a unified monarchy reached out to extend its power into the Korean peninsula. However, reading between the lines in the same histories, we can see that Japan was very far from being a unified state at this time; indeed, even at the time when the *Kojiki* and the *Nihon shoki* were being written there were parts of

[9] Chungwon Koguryo Stele, believed to have been erected in 423 during the reign of King Changsu, sheds light on the Silla-Koguryo relations and confirms the assumption that Silla was a subordinate ally of Koguryo in the fifth century.

Kyushu where the writ of Nara government did not run. Archaeology too confirms this picture, and demonstrates that, at the time to which the Kwanggaet'o Stele refers, there were still several political centres in the Japanese archipelago. The problem here is then how we are to read the accounts of Japanese activity in Korea contained in these histories; how is it possible that when rival power centres still divided the Japanese islands, one such centre should, nevertheless, seek to intervene in the affairs of mainland Asia. Or is this more than a mirror image of later events thrown backwards by the propagandists of the Nara court? The history of relations between Korea and Japan during the last hundred years makes this more than a purely academic question. It is loaded with overtones of current political debate. [10]And when we find that Japanese activities mentioned by a contemporary document, the Kwaanggaet'o stele inscriptions, the archaeology and epigraphy also assume political dimensions.

The text of the Kwanggaet'o inscriptions may be broadly divided into three parts. The initial part, consisting of the first seven columns on the southern side of the monument, gives the ancestry of King Kwanggaet'o and the foundation-legend of the kingdom of Koguryo. It also contains a brief account of the accession and death of Kwanggaet'o after a reign of twenty-two years.

The second part consists of the history of King Kwanggaet'o's campaigns, and occupies the remainder of the first side, the whole of the second and the first six lines of the third. As well as being the most interesting (that is, the most controversial) part of the inscription, it is also the most badly damaged.

The last part contains a list of three hundred and thirty families who had been settled in the neighbourhood of the mausoleum as servants and guardians of the dead ruler. The duties of this small town are briefly indicated, and we are told that, in order to avoid confusion, similar steles to this had been erected at the tombs of earlier rulers of Koguryo, presumably listing similar families who served the cult of dead sovereigns. To date, no such inscription has been unearthed.

The erection of a stele to commemorate King Kwanggaet'o is probably to be associated with the growth of Chinese cultural influence in Koguryo at this time. Tung Shou was by no means the only Chinese scholar bureaucrat who fled to Korea,[11] when the North China plain was in upheaval. As Koguryo expanded into the former Chinese colonies of the Korea peninsula, such people were more and more useful, precisely because they came from outside and had no standing in the old Koguryo tribal structure. Their fortunes would tend to be closely identified with those of the royal house which employed them. Sinicisation and centralization thus went hand in hand, and the natural culmination of this process was the transfer of the capital to what had been the capital of the old Chinese commandery of Lo-lang. Another concomitant of this process was the revamping of Koguryo's past. The Kwanggaet'o

[10] Several important historians have emphasised the need for Korean historians to overcome the japan-oriented historiographical approach. See Song Ki-ho, Tongasiaui yoksa punjaeng Seoul> Sol Books,, 2007, especially chapters 5 and 9; also see Yi Song-si, "Kwanggaet'owangpi ui kollip mokjok e kwanhan siron", *Hanguk kodaesa yongu* 50, 2008, p. 175

[11] See K. J. H. Gardiner, A Brief History of Korea, Hawaii Univerrsity Press, 1966; and Pankaj Mohan, "Ken Gardiner", Review of Korean Studies, 2006

stele inscription suggests that some kind of record of events in Koguryo may have been kept as early as the beginning of the fifth century, and already shows a familiarity with the Chinese system of cyclical dates. At the same time it is difficult to know how muck faith is to be placed in the statement of the Samguk-sagi that In the beginning of the kingdom (of Koguryo), when characters first came into use, there was a man who recorded events in one hundred chapters; this was called the Yugi Clearly there is already a problem with this statement in that we know that the beginnings of Koguryo lay many century; there also seems something strange about a book in a hundred chapters being composed when writing first came into use, especially when this same work was later re-edited in only five chapters. The early Koguryo chapters of the Samguk-sagi certainly do not look as though they went back to anything this early; their version of the foundation legend is considerably more elaborate than that in the Kwanggaet'o stele; moreover, in the account of the reign of the Founder Ancestor's son we have a story about the land of Hwang-nyong ,which appears to be imagined as a neighbour of Koguryo. Hung-lung was a name given to the kingdom of Northern Yen (409-436), a kingdom which was closely connected with Koguryo and whose last king died in Koguryo after his realm had been conquered by the T'o-pa Wei; the story can hardly belong to a period before this, at least in its present form. However, even if there is no evidence that what was later regarded as the definitive account of the Koguryo past was drawn up as early as late Middle Koguryo, it is clear that the increased status of the throne under King Kwanggaet'o led to some reappraisal of Koguryo's past, since the inscription states that King Kwanggaet'o himself had stelae erected on the tomb mounds of the earlier kings so that the tomb keepers would not be confused about whose tomb was which.

The position of King Kwanggaet'o is clearly quite different from that of the kings of early Koguryo as described in the *Sanguozhi*. Not only in the stele inscription, but also in the very fragmentary Moduru tomb inscription, the divine descent of the Koguryo king is emphasized. The appropriation of the old founder ancestor legend of Puyo, here clearly proclaimed for the first time, perhaps served two purposes: it raised the royal lineage clearly above that of any of the other tribal chieftains, and at the same time emphasized ancestry of the royal house in relation to the other Puyo states, such as the so-called Eastern Puyo in Okcho, which King Kwanggaet'o had attacked in 410, or, of course in relation to Paekche. It was not merely a matter of having the Koguryo kings descend from the legendary founder of Puyo, but effectively saying that the old Puyo version of the story was wrong, and that the founder figure had himself actually come from old Puyo, now called Northern Puyo, to establish the Koguryo monarch.[12] Paekche and the other Puyo states were thereby out-classed. Furthermore, King Kwanggaet'o is said to have descended in direct line from the founder-ancestor, although we know from Chinese records that there had been at least one change of dynasty in Koguryo during

[12] For a detailed understanding of the foundation legends of Koguryo see Kenneth H. J. Gardiner, "The Legends of Koguryo", *Korea Journal* 21:1 (1981) , pp. 60-69 and *Korea Journal* 22:2 (1982): 31-48.

earlier centuries. Clearly, as with the stories recorded in the *Kojiki* and the *Nihon shoki*, an attempt is being made to rewrite history from the point of view of one particular royal line—in this case the line to which King Kwanggaet'o belonged. It can not be sufficiently emphasized what we have on the stele is royal prasasti (panegyric) such as adorns the monuments of various Indian kings. From such a text dispassionately objectivity historical account can not be expected.

Turning then to the account of King Kwanggaet'o's campaigns, we find that this begins with an expedition conducted in the king's fifth year (corresponding to 395) against a people called Piryo who had, perhaps, been raiding the outlying districts of the Koguryo kingdom. In a campaign, like most of those recorded on the stele, led by the king in person, the offenders were of course defeated, and "uncountable number of cattle, horses and sheep' were captured by the victors. These tend to suggest that their opponents were some kind of nomads, and indeed Pak Si-hyong has attempted to connect them with one of the eight tribes of the later Khitan confederacy or with Piri which appears as a northern tribe in the *Jinshu*(晉書).

However, this may be, it is with the next entry in the list of campaigns that controversy really flares. One may translate this part of the inscription as follows:

Paekche (rendered in the mutilated form of Paekchan, meaning Hundred-fold Destruction) and Silla were subject peoples from the old, and from that time forth have brought tribute. But in the year Sinmyo (391) the Wa came across the sea and defeated Paekche…..Silla, making them their subjects. So in his sixth year the king personally led a war fleet to punish and overthrow that "remnant country; i.e. Paekche".

In order to understand the significance of this passage it is important to place it within the context of political changes and formation of alliances amongst various countries that occurred in East Asia in the fourth century.

It is apparent that in the late fourth century Paekche came increasingly under pressure from Koguryo, and turned for allies both in the eastern Jin dynasty and to the state of Yamato in Japan. A Paekche embassy to the Yamato court is recorded in the *Nihon shoki* at a date which, corrected by 120 years, gives 367. In 369, while Paekche forces held King Soe of Koguryo in the north, Yamato soldiers likely crossed into Korea. There is no reason to doubt this date, as it is evidently derived from reliable Paekche chronicles, and in fact contradicts the main tendency of the *Nihon Shoki*'s account.

It has been correctly noted by historians that the Japanese records in the *Kojiki* and *Nihon Shoki* suffer from the drawback of having been written with the purpose of exalting the ruling house of Yamato and legitimize its position. As with Koguryo, the Yamato ruling house had emerged from a struggle with other competing clans, and history, therefore, had to be rewritten to stress its preeminence. As with Koguryo, this will have involved lineage falsification, presenting as one unbroken genealogical line what most modern scholars now believe to have been three successive dynasties. Rewriting the record also involved the imposition of an artificially stretched chronology, as Naka Michio (那珂通世) already recognized in the 19th century. In

addition, legends were included to magnify the prestige of the ruling house. One such was the so-called conquest of Korea attributed to the empress Jingo (founder of Jingo-ism) which has rightly been dismissed by modern scholars. However, the dismissal of the jingo legend need not imply the total rejection of the Japanese histories as sources. The *Nihon Shoki* in particular contains variant tales from other, often unnamed, sources about relations between Wa and the states on the Korean peninsula, some of which show a distinct similarity to passages from the *Samguk sagi*.

On several occasions in this part of the *Nihon shoki* quotations are made from a lost work called the Paekche-ki/ *Kudara-ki*(百濟記), the Paekche record. This work was presumably the ultimate source of much of the information concerning Paekche in the late 4th century, and seems to have taken the form of a chronicle. It is worth noting that the *Samguk sagi*'s King Kun Ch'ogo of Paekche, who must be identical with the King Sogo of the *Nihon shoki*, is said to have been the first ruler of Paekche for whose reigns records were kept. This is probably the reason why he is the earliest ruler of Paekche to be mentioned by the name in *Nihon Shoki*. Even if it is accepted that the statements of the *Nihon shoki* at this point are based upon certain Paekche chronicles which survived into the 8th century, presumably being brought to Japan with some of the numerous Paekche exiles, this does not mean that the Japanese history presented the records unchanged...

The Paekche kings Ch'ogo (d.375) and Kusu (375-384) maintained a policy of close alliance with Yamato which was to be a characteristic of Paekche for almost all its history. The seven-branched sword sent to Yamato by the former king is still extant, and indicates the beginning of cultural influence from the sophisticated Korean kingdom on its island neighbour. Paekche remained open to influence from China, and Buddhism was introduced there, almost certainly from Eastern Jin, in 384.

Meanwhile in the North, the years 383/4 had seen the catastrophic collapse of Fujian's Former Qin state. Once again it seemed that the possibility of expansion into Liaodong had become open for Koguryo. For a few months in 385, Koguryo forces actually controlled Liaodong. But in the collapse of Fu Jian's state there were others who thought to have a share of the booty, notably surviving descendants of the Murong royal house, who endeavoured during the next frantic ten years to organize a state—so-called Yan—in their old stamping grounds of North China. By the end of 385 one of the Murong princes, Murong Neng, acting on behalf of his father Murong Chui, had expelled Koguryo forces from Liaodong and reestablished the frontier with Koguryo. Once again Koguryo expansion in this area had been checked.

Meanwhile a complicated situation had been developing in the South. King Chinsa of Paekche suffered several defeats at the hands of foreign foes, and spent a lot of time repairing his palace and stocking his ponds and gardens with exotic items. He also had a passion for hunting. Indeed, he went on hunting expeditions for days without returning to his court in his final year, after he had just suffered a defeat at the hands of Koguryo. Then, after ten days spent hunting on "Dog Moor", Chinsa died in his traveling quarters, and his nephew was made king. It is possible that he was

overthrown and killed by his own people, to whom he had become obnoxious, but the suggestion that this was done in order to placate the offended dignity of the Yamato court, is of course, the fantasy of Nara court-centered historians. Moreover, the friendly alliance which existed between the ruler of Paekche and the ruler of Wa even before this is known from the inscriptions on the Seven-branched Sword as well as the records of the *Nihon shoki*. In view of the fact that this text mentions embassies of Ahwa to Yamato, it is entirely possible that Ahwa favoured this alliance more than his predecessor had done, and that this fact lies behind the *Nihon shoki*'s distorted picture of King Chinsa being put to death to appease Yamato. Then again, if Chinsa, an anti-Wa ruler, were to be replaced by Ahwa, a pro-Wa ruler, one can see how the Kwanggaet'o stele could have transmogrified this event into Wa's defeat and subjugation of Paekche, thereby justifying the naval expedition of King Kwanggaet'o to restore Paekche to its 'natural' allegiance.

As noted above several eminent scholars have proposed unconventional approaches to this problem. Chong In-bo was the first amongst several eminent scholars to put forward a radical repunctuation of the passage about the Sinmyo year military expedition. [13]Their interpretations give us a truly remarkable Chinese sentence, one consisting entirely of verbal phrases for which both the subject and the object must be understood. But not merely do these explanations strain the rules of grammatical composition beyond what might be expected even of fifth century Koguryo, they also offend both consistency and commonsense in other ways. Thus, if the word 'came' is separated from the immediately following characters, it loses all suggestions of hostile activity. The character "rae" has already been used quite innocuously just before, and the phrase "wae yi sinmyo nyeon rae" could just as well be construed to mean "And Wa (likewise) came (to offer tribute) in the year Sinmyo". Certainly, if the writer of the inscription had intended to signify some hostile act on the part of 'Wa', he could easily have found a whole battery of words to express his thought more clearly and concisely than the bland "rae". Then again, we might well ask whether King Kwanggaet'o, the ruler of the mountain kingdom, would have been likely to have left his realm, in his accession year, and led an expedition, an entirely unprecedented expedition, 'across the sea', while his state faced the enmity of the Piryo in the north, and the possible hostility of Paekche in the South. And even if he did lead such a campaign, why is the word "personally" not used of this expedition as it is of the campaigns of 395 against Piryo, and 396 against Paekche? Yi Chinhui's approach is also very radical.[14] As has been suggested by several scholars, his extraordinary theory does not explain why an ardent Japanese nationalist, in tampering with the stone, would nevertheless leave on the stele intact such expressions as "Wa bandits" and Wa thieves' as well as the record of how Koguryo defeated the Wa forces and compelled them to withdraw.

[13] Chong In-bo, 'Kwanggaet'o kyongp'yongan hota'ewangnung pimun songnyak', *Paeknamjun paksa hwangap kinyom nonch'ong*, Seoul 1955

[14] Yi Chin-hui, Kwanggaet'owangpi-ui t'amgu, Trans. Yi Ki-dong, Ilchogak, 1992

In fact none of these nationalist theories seem to have added substantially to our understanding of this difficult text. As will be probably apparent from this discussion, the earlier interpretation which involves Wa crossing the sea to subject Paekche and Silla still strikes as the most convincing. The architects of Japan's imperialist historiography in Meiji Japan politicised this interpretation by linking it with Japan's colonial agenda on the Korean peninsula. Japanese historians were wrong in using this text to create the theory of "Japanese Protectorate In Imna/Kaya" for the simple reason that, although this is precisely what the text of the stele says, it does not represent an objective account of wars in the late fourth and the early fifth century Korea. We are dealing with prasasti, royal propaganda, and the one thing of which we can be sure is that all the events recorded in the stele will have been presented so as to redound to the greater glory of the Koguryo royal house, and of King Kwanggaet'o in particular. This is evident when we look at the account of events in the ninth and tenth years of King Kwanggaet'o's reign (399 and 400). The account of the ninth year has been preserved virtually intact, but that of the vital tenth year, once covering several columns, comes at the most severely damaged part of the inscription, and can only be very partially reconstructed.

First the ninth year: "Paekche went back upon its oath, and again established friendly relations with Wa. The King had gone on a royal tour to Pyongyang in the south, when Silla sent envoys to tell him , "The people of Wa have overrun (lit, 'filled') the frontiers of our realm, broken down and ruined our city-walls and moats, and made your slaves their people. We have, therefore, come to your majesty to request instructions". The following passage contains some characters that are variously read; the general sense o the passage, however, is clear. "The Great King, out of the kindness of his heart, praised the loyalty and sincerity of (the men of Silla) specially sent envoys to go back (to Silla) and tell them of (his secret plan?)". The king is evidently responding to Silla's request for aid, and makes arrangements with the envoys for cooperation in the major offensive against Wa which he planned for the following year. Surely the propagandistic tone of this passage is unmistakable. The king is presented as completely benevolent and paternalistic towards Silla, the envoys as abject suppliants. No thought of actual aggrandisement seems to enter anyone's head, except, perhaps, the men of the Wa. It is not difficult to see that in this passage it would have been natural for the recorder to stress the danger of the Wa invasion and the damage wrought by the men of Wa, so that King Kwanggaet'o might appear all the more clearly as a great liberator and the successful opponent of a dangerous foe.

The record of the tenth year begins clearly enough, but rapidly dissolves into a few barely legible phrases with huge gaps in between:

"In his tenth year, the king instructed fifty thousand cavalry and infantry to go to the rescue of Silla. (Advancing) from Namgo-song, they reached the capital of Silla, which was full of the Wa. But as soon as our troops arrived, the Wa bandits withdrew…and we pursued them to Imna kara, and took that city---".

Then after large unintelligible details about the fighting, we are significantly told that 'Since ancient times there had never been an occasion when the maegum (i.e. the ruler) of Silla ever came to court in person with tribute…' It has obvious implication that presumably that is what happened on this occasion. And the passage concludes with a reference to King Kwanggaet'o—the king who widely opened up (new) territory', and also tribute. Evidently the story concluded on a successful and, for Koguryo, a highly satisfactory note.

What appears to be the triumphant conclusion of the year of 400 is succeeded directly in the inscription by an account of further fighting in the king's fourteenth year (404).

"But in the fourteenth year, the Wa were (again) refractory and invaded Taebang (i.e. the area of the old Chinese commandery of Taifang or Tabang in Western Korea) in conjunction with soldiers of Paekche?...The king himself led an army from Pyongyang to chastise them…and the Wa invaders were defeated; we killed them in uncountable numbers."

Silla having been liberated, the centre of action had shifted elsewhere, and Wa's traditional alliance with Paekche came into play. It would seem that, with Wa assistance, Paekche was endeavouring to recover the area north of the Han river which it had once ruled but had lost to Koguryo only a short time before. If so, the attempt was evidently a failure.

Two further campaigns are chronicled on the stele. Not much can be made of the first, belonging to the seventeenth year (407); it is however, interesting to note that it begins with the now familiar statement that the king sent out fifty thousand cavalry and infantry. It is evidently a numerical cliché which needs not be taken too seriously whose recurrence here again points up the need to take the stirring events narrated earlier on the stele with a grain of salt.

The last campaign, fought in the king's twentieth year (410) was against Eastern Puyo, a state which the inscription declares was originally subject to the founder ancestor, Ch'umo, but which had since rebelled and had ceased to pay tribute. If the traditions preserved in the *Samguk sagi* can be taken as a genuine reflection of much earlier lore, it would appear that this Eastern Puyo kingdom, 'in a land by the Eastern Sea' was in fact the state set up in 286 by refugee Puyo princes fleeing into old Okcho lands from the destruction of their kingdom in Manchuria. It was this realm of Eastern Puyo which appears to have provided the staging post from which yet another Puyo princes went on to establish a ruling dynasty in Paekche. The stele's remark that Eastern Puyo had paid tribute to Ch'umo, the founder of Koguryo, is particularly ironic distortion of tradition, since Ch'umo himself is merely a Koguryo transformation of the appropriated Puyo ancestor Tongmyong, which the Koguryo court had apparently taken over in order to disguise its own insufficiently charismatic origins. In the event the campaign against Puyo, like the theft of the ancestor figure, seems to have been successful without the need of a blow being struck in anger. When the Koguryo forces approached, again under the conduct of the king himself, the tiny state submitted of its own accord.

This section of the stele inscription ends with a summary of King Kwanggaet'o's conquests; sixty-four fortified places and fourteen hundred villages. Before closing the chapter of these military achievements it seems appropriate to note that none of them are chronicled in either the *Samguk sagi* or the *Nihon shoki*. The latter text indeed knows of no occasion when Yamato forces clashed with those of Koguryo, which it terms Koma. This may be in part because the Wa of the stele inscription are not the Wa of Yamato, but it is also surely equally due to the fact that, even allowing for exaggeration on the stele, it was Wa which was the loser. One may wish to appropriate the victory of others but hardly their defeats. The *Nihon Shoki* is as silent about early Wa reverses as the Anglo-Saxon chronicle is silent about Aurelius Ambrosius. As to the *Samguk sagi*, it is interesting to note that although this text mentions clashes between Koguryo and Paekche this time, these are usually presented as defensive actions fought by Koguryo against Paekche. In the last of them, fought in a year that corresponds to 395, Paekche suffered an overwhelming defeat, and the forces of Koguryo captured more than eight thousand prisoners. There can be little doubt that this is a distant reflection of the great Koguryo invasion of Paekche in 396, the difference in dating by one year being due to the fat that in the *Samguk sagi* , as occasionally in the *Nihon shoki*, regnal years in which there was a change of ruler were counted twice, once as the last year of the old ruler, and then again as the first year of the new ruler. If the 'accession year' system of dating was used instead of the more usual system where a ruler's first regnal year is his first full year on the throne, then this would naturally throw the dates one year out. As for the Wa, the *Samguk sagi* never mentions them in connection with Koguryo. This is presumably because, although Kim Pusik appears to have had some kind of chronicle at his disposal for the history of Paekche, for Koguryo, after the fifteenth ruler, the Mich'on Wang, he was almost entirely dependent upon the *Zizhitongjian* and the Chinese dynastic histories. Presumably the accounts of the wars between king Kwanggaet'o and Paekche in the *Samguk sagi* is drawn from Kim Pusik's unknown Paekche source, which accounts for its rather different tone from the triumphant text of the stele. Overgrown with bushes in a long deserted capital on the wrong side of the Yalu river, the stele itself was almost certainly unknown to Kim Pusik.

The list of tomb guardians, provided in the last part of the stele, makes it apparent that King Kwanggaet'o used his new conquests to increase the number of his direct dependants, and hence to increase his power and expand his base of support. In this way the Koguryo court developed a monopoly over the control of 'new settlers', in much the same way as the rulers of Yamato were careful to recruit immigrants from China and Korea into royally established "be', thereby giving the court a monopoly over the new ideas, institutions and technology from the mainland of Asia. This ties in with other aspects of Koguryo culture at this period; the glorification of royal ancestry, the more prestigious and splendidly decorated tombs, introduction of Buddhism, Confucianism and other ideas and institutions of Chinese provenance.

It is remarkable that with the introduction of Buddhism and the related aspects of continental civilization integrated Koguryo within the Indian-Chinese

Cultural ecumene and its elites became aware of the propagandist aspect of written words. Buddhist monks in Koguryo and Chinese members of the Koguryo officialdom were harbingers of Chinese learning in the state, and were doubtless aware of the tradition of Indian royalty which inscribed prasasti' (eulogy) on stone pillars[15] as well as the practice of erecting lavish stele in China in the 4th and early 5th centuries. The King Kwanggaet'o stele is apparently informed by these traditions to which Koguryo was exposed due to its long interaction with the various Chinese states and ceaseless traffic of monks and Chinese gentry. It is erroneous to interpret every word of the inscription as a faithful record of historical events. Indeed, the stele falls within the genre of 'prasasti', a panegyric or propagandistic work of eulogy The construction of nine monasteries in P'yongyang is an another evidence of the adroit manipulation of Indian/Buddhist symbolism by King Kwanggaet'o to proclaim his status as a great king, a conqueror, a cakravartin (universal ruler), victorious in all the nine directions, similar to the determination of Silla, reflected in the design to construct the nine-story pagoda of the Hwangnyong or Golden/Imperial Dragon Temple.[16]

It is apparent from the above discussion that the way to understand the Koguryo Stele is to take account of the fact that this is not an objective record but history as seen from a Koguryo viewpoint, in other words, Koguryo propaganda. No part of the text has caused more controversy than the statement that claimed Paekche and Silla as originally subjects of Koguryo and projected King Kwanggaet'o as a victor in a battle with the "Wa' 'that crossed the sea, defeated Paekche and Silla and made them their subjects'. There is no evidence other than the stele's statement (and one might add very little probability) that Paekche had in any sense been 'subject' to Koguryo before 391, and Yamato was not in a position to wage war on and subdue the southern Korean states, since it was not in control of Western Japan. The stele is intended to convey the impression that the King of Koguryo was not a naked aggressor, but as a sacred ruler, a cakravartin (the Wheel-turning Ideal King) who came to the assistance of his neighbors against a foreign invader and emerged victorious in all the righteous battles he fought.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Chatterjee, S. K. edited, "*Cultural heritage of India*", Calcutta: R.K. institute of Culture, 1978

Chavannes, Edouard. "Les Monuments de l'Ancien Royaume Coréen de Kao-Keou-Li", *T'oung Pao* 2 9 (1908)

[15] For an understanding and specimens of prasasti see Richard Salomon, *Indian Epigraphy: a Guide to the Study of Inscriptions in Sanskrit, Prakrit, and the other Indo-Aryan Languages* New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998, 229-236; John F Fleet, *Inscriptions of the Early Gupta kings and their Successors* [2nd rev. ed.] Varanasi Indological Books, 1966; and S. K. . Chatterjee, ed. "*Cultural heritage of India*, Calcutta: R.K. institute of Culture, 1978, pp. 390-416.

[16] Samguk sagi 18: 167 Kwanggaet'o 2

Chong, In-bo, 'Kwanggaet'o kyongp'yongan hota'ewangnung pimun songnyak', *Paeknamjun paksa hwangap kinyom nonch'ong*, Seoul 1955
Courant, Maurice, "Stèle chinoise du royaume de Ko Kou Rye", *Journal Asiatique*, (1898)
Fleet, John F., *Inscriptions of the Early Gupta kings and their Successors* [2nd rev. ed.] Varanasi Indological Books, 1966
Gardiner, Kenneth H. J., "The Legends of Koguryo", *Korea Journal* 22:2 (1982)
Gardiner, Kenneth H. J., "The Legends of Koguryo", *Korea Journal* 21:1 (1981)
Gardiner, K. J. H., *A Brief History of Korea*, Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1966
Geng, Tiehua, *Haotaiwang bei yi qian wu bai liu shi nian zai* , Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan, 2003.
Ikeuchi, Hiroshi, Sueji Umehara, & Jiro Harada *T'ung-kou.* I. *T'ung-Kou. I. The Ancient Site of Kao-kou-li in Chi-an District,* Tung-hua Province, Manchoukuo. II, Tokyo: Nichiman Bunka Kyokai, 1940
Kim Pu-sik, *Samguk sagi*, ed. *Yi Pyong-do*, Seoul: Uryu Munhwasa, 1977
Mohan, Pankaj. "Ken Gardiner", *Review of Korean Studies*, Volume *8* no. 3 (2005). (2006)
Pak, Chong-tae, 'Kwanggaet'o Wangnungbi-ui yon'gu wa ku tonghyang punsok', Ph.D. dissertation, Kyonghui University, Seoul, 1988
Saeki Arikyo *, Kokaidoohi*, Tokyo: Risosha, 1974.
Saeki, Arikyo, 'Kokaido oryo hibun saikento no tameno josho, sanbo honbu to chosen kenkyu', *Nihon Rekishi*, 287 (1972)
Salomon, Richard, *Indian Epigraphy: a Guide to the Study of Inscriptions in Sanskrit, Prakrit, and the other Indo-Aryan Languages* New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998
So, Yong-su, 'Kwanggaet'owang pimun-ui yongusa-jok komt'o', *Koguryo yongu* 1 (1995)
Song Ki-ho, Tongasiaui yoksa punjaeng Seoul, Sol Books, 2007
Suzuki, Yasutami, 'Ilbon-esoui kwanggaet'o wang pi t'akbon-kwa pimun yongu' In Koguryo yonguhoe ed., *Kwanggaet'owangpi yongu 100 nyon* , Hakyonmunhwasa, 1996
Szczesniak, Boleslaw, The Kotaio Monument. Monumenta Nipponica 7 (1951)
Takeda Yukio, *Kokurishi to to ajia*: Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1989
Takeda, Yukio, Studies on the King Kwanggaito Inscription and Their Basis." *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko* 47 (1989)
Takeda, Yukio, *Kokaido-o hi genseki takuhon shusei*, Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 1988
Yi, Chin-hui, *Kwanggaet'owangpi-ui t'amgu*, (Trans. Yi Ki-dong) Ilchogak, 1992
Yi, Song-si, "Kwanggaet'owangpi ui kollip mokjok e kwanhan siron", *Hanguk kodaesa yongu* 50, 2008, p. 175
Yi, Song-si, *Mandurojin Kodae*, Seoul: Sangin, 2001,
Wang, Jianqun, *Haotaiwangbei yanjiu*, Jilin renmin chuban she, 1984.

STUDIA UBB PHILOLOGIA, LVIII, 1, 2013, p. 161 - 172
(RECOMMENDED CITATION)

THE 1728 MUSIN REBELLION (MUSILLAN 戊申亂): APPROACHES, SOURCES AND QUESTIONS

ANDREW DAVID JACKSON[1]

ABSTRACT. ***The 1728 Musin Rebellion (Musillan 戊申亂): Approaches, Sources and Questions*.** The 1728 Musin Rebellion was the most serious military challenge to King Yŏngjo's rule, and the rebels gained widespread popular support. This article analyses the scholarly understandings of the rebellion, investigates important primary sources available to researchers, and identifies important unanswered questions about the rebellion. Most scholars have analysed the attempt to overthrow King Yŏngjo's government using the systems/value-consensus approach to rebellion. Such explanations leave unanswered key questions concerning the rebel failure, the fratricidal character of the rebellion and the reason for the initiation of violence. Many official and unofficial sources exist, but the development of strategies to deal with the problems of truncated sources, factional bias and the reliability of rebel testimony remain unaddressed.

Keywords: 1728, Musin rebellion, Musillan, Yŏngjo, factionalism, theory of rebellion, late Chosŏn history

REZUMAT. ***Răscoala Musin din 1728 (Musillan 戊申亂): Abordări, surse şi întrebări*.** Răscoala Musin din 1728 a fost cea mai serioasă provocare militară la adresa domniei regelui Yŏngjo, răsculaţii dobândind un amplu sprijin popular. Prezentul articol analizează studiile despre răscoală, investighează importante surse primare accesibile cercetătorilor şi identifică întrebări esenţiale despre răscoală, încă fără răspuns. Cei mai mulţi cercetători au analizat încercarea de a distruge guvernarea regelui Yŏngjo din prisma teoriei consensului de sisteme/valori. Astfel de abordări lasă fără răspuns întrebări-cheie despre eşecul răzvrătiţilor, caracterul fratricid al răscoalei şi motivul începerii violenţelor. Există multe surse oficiale şi neoficiale, dar rămân nediscutate chestiuni precum dezvoltarea unei strategii de tratare a problemelor surselor fragmentare, părtinirii facţionale şi a mărturiilor rebelilor.

Cuvinte-cheie: 1728, Răscoala Musin, Musillan, Yŏngjo, facţionalism, teoria răscoalei, istoria târzie a dinastiei Chosŏn

[1] Andrew David Jackson obtained his Ph.D in Korean history from the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London in 2011 and wrote a dissertation on the Musin rebellion of 1728. Andrew is currently the Korean Foundation postdoctoral fellow at the Oriental Institute, Oxford University. E-mail: gp200@yahoo.com.

The Musin rebellion

The 1728 Musin rebellion was the largest sustained outbreak of collective violence in eighteenth century Chosŏn (朝鮮) Korea, and an attempt to overthrow King Yŏngjo's (英祖, reigned 1724-1776) government by military means.[2] During three weeks of fighting the government lost control of thirteen county seats, and the rebels drew great support from people in Kyŏnggi, North Ch'ungch'ŏng, South Ch'ungch'ŏng and South Kyŏngsang Provinces. The Musin rebellion had its roots in the factional conflict that dominated the Chosŏn court between the sixteenth and early eighteenth centuries. In two hundred years of factionalism, violence had rarely spread beyond the confines of the court; the last large scale military assault on power by factional members had been the Injo Restoration (仁祖反正) in 1623 and Yi Kwal's (李适의亂) rebellion in 1624.[3] Chosŏn factions have been defined as 'political associations on a quest for power,' and by the time of the Musin rebellion, five groups were contending for power: the Noron (老論, Old Doctrine), the Namin (南人, Southerners), and the Soron (少論 Young Doctrine) with its two wings, the Chunso (峻少, extremists) and the Wanso (緩少, moderates).[4] Most rebels were Chunso and Namin supporters who claimed loyalty to Kyŏngjong (景宗, reigned 1720-24) and were antagonistic towards his half-brother Yŏngjo and the Noron faction that supported him. Rebels claimed Yŏngjo was unfit to govern because he usurped the throne by having Kyŏngjong killed. The Musin rebellion, however, was *not* merely a fight between two clearly identifiable factional sides; it had a fratricidal character as well. The rebellion erupted a few months after Yŏngjo's attempt to mollify factionalism, the removal of the Noron from power and the restoration of the Soron to office in 1727. The 1727 Soron restoration meant rebels were aided by a small group of fifth-columnists who were plotting against Yŏngjo from within government, and meant that Soron rebels were plotting to overthrow their comrades. Not all Namin were unified against the crown either; Namin from Andong (North Kyŏngsang Province) refused to join Namin from South Kyŏngsang Province in the rebellion. After seventeen violent days, the rebels were annihilated by government forces led by Wanso officials supported by some Noron.[5]

Approaches

Interest in the Musin rebellion has traditionally come from South Korean scholars, perhaps because the rebellion was centered in the southern part of the Korean peninsula. Scholarly examination has largely followed nationalist narratives concerned with

---

[2] This work was carried out with the generous support of The Korea Foundation and The Academy of Korean Studies, Dr Anders Karlsson, Dr Codruta Cuc, Perry Iles, and Bae Wonae. Musillan means Musin year rebellion, where Musin is the forty-fifth term of the sexagenary cycle. The Chosŏn dynasty: 1392- 1905.

[3] For more on the Injo Restoration and Yi Kwal's rebellion, see Palais 1996, 94-7.

[4] Haboush 1988, 119.

[5] Cho Ch'anyong 2003, 60.

disproving the stagnation hypothesis of Japanese colonial historiography, which legitimized imperial intrusion. Colonial historians argued that factionalism was endemic to the Korean psyche and evidence of this stagnation.[6] In contrast, Nationalist scholars highlight the dynamism and development within late-Chosŏn society, using this nationalist framework to justify the Musin rebellion either as an extension of court political conflict, an anomaly in a period of otherwise enlightened rule, or as evidence of rapid change in late-Chosŏn society. A significant proportion of scholars has also argued that the rebellion was driven by regional dynamics. This article serves as a tool for future researchers of the Musin rebellion; it analyses the various scholarly approaches to the violence, it examines important primary sources, and finally it details important unresolved questions about 1728.

Prior to the 1980s, most historians saw the Musin rebellion almost solely in terms of factionalism and the earliest interpretations viewed it as conflict between central and regional factions. Yi Usŏng (1959), Yi Sangok (1969) and Yi Wŏngyun (1971) identify a political crisis that led to the economic and political disenfranchisement of the Kyŏngsang province elites. Yi Usŏng believes after the Injo restoration, a political split occurred between the central Noron/Soron controlling elite and the provincial Namin powers.[7] Later scholars such as Sŏng Nak'hun (1979) and O Kapkyun (1977 & 1985) ignore the regional dynamics and stress the court-centred factional conflict surrounding the succession of Yŏngjo, following the suspicious death of Kyŏngjong. Sŏng makes no attempt to situate the conflict in the context of wider social problems.[8] O Kapkyun sees the rebellion as an attempt by extreme Soron and permanently excluded Namin to regain their political positions by overthrowing Yŏngjo.[9] The reason for the initiation of the rebellion is 'accumulated factionalism,' but O is unclear about why this should have escalated into military violence in 1728.[10] Such representations of the Musin rebellion are principally found in modern South Korean textbooks.[11] It is difficult to understand why historians represent the Musin rebellion as a conflict limited to factionalism, since armed violence spread across the entire southern half of the Korean peninsula. The implication may be that the government was increasingly out of touch with people who were experiencing massive social change; bureaucrats turned on each other in vicious fighting, ignoring the true development occurring in wider society. By examining such factionalism, Nationalist scholars may also have been tackling head on the Colonial historiographical notions of an endemic factionalism.

[6] Ko Suyŏn 2004, 200.
[7] Yi Usŏng 1959, 724-5
[8] Sŏng Nak'hun 1979.
[9] O Kapkyun 1977, 66-8.
[10] *Ibid*., 96.
[11] Yun Naehyŏn et al 2005, 377.

One Yŏngjo scholar, Jahyun Kim Haboush (1988), characterizes the rebellion as a 'minor fracas amongst outcasts.'[12] Failure is treated as inevitable, because the rebellion was an anomaly in an otherwise enlightened period of rule by Yŏngjo.[13] Haboush believes there was a flowering of relatively enlightened rule, especially in the mid to late eighteenth-century reigns of two kings, Yŏngjo and Chŏngjo (reigned: 1776-1800).[14] This period represents prosperity, stability and cultural development in Korean history, a direction in which Korea might have continued were it not for incompetent government and foreign imperial encroachment.[15] This view of the period is particularly significant because it has fed into popular dramatic representations and might explain why the Musin rebellion is often simply ignored or portrayed as an inconvenient blip during a period of enlightened rule.[16] Haboush's contention that the Musin rebellion was uncharacteristic of the times, however, does not clarify why the rebels managed to mobilize widespread popular support.

The most comprehensive analysis of the Musin rebellion was conducted by what I call structural historians, especially those associated with the 1980s *minjung* (民衆,or repressed people's) movement engaged in anti-dictatorship struggle. These scholars considered the *minjung* to be agents of change in the development of Korean society and argue the Musin rebellion was more than an extension of court politics.[17] 1980s scholarly analysis of the Musin rebellion makes no reference to *any* specific theoretical framework, either because of a desire for a 'common-sensical' approach, or doubts over the applicability of Western theoretical frameworks to a late Chosŏn cultural context.[18] However, whether intentional or not, most scholarly approaches analyse the Musin rebellion using notions similar to Chalmers Johnson's systems/value-consensus theory as well as theories of class-consciousness: a systemic breakdown, an increasing sense of anger and disequilibrium amongst non-elites and marginalized elites, the role of an ideological party in creating a rebel movement, all pivoting around a crisis point which sets the rebellion in motion.[19] Structural scholars account for the Musin rebellion by emphasizing a dual political and structural crisis.[20] This period saw the unraveling of a rigid class system alongside economic expansion.[21] With the growth of a commercial economy and a market system, the rural 'moral' economic structures

[12] Haboush 1988, 142.
[13] *Ibid*., 1988.
[14] Haboush 1988, 233.
[15] For further details, see Park Chan-seung 1999, 341.
[16] Like the South Korean MBC televised drama, *Yi San* (2007).
[17] Min 2003, 18.
[18] Karlsson 2000, 19.
[19] Crisis-free societies have internally consistent institutions; crises cause members of society to experience 'disequilibrium' after which people act in 'deviant' ways and resort to violent rebellion. Skocpol 1994, 105.
[20] Kim Sun Joo explains marginalized elites as those 'living in peripheral regions' in late Chosŏn, and subject to 'political discrimination' (Kim Sun Joo 2007,16). Yi Wŏngyun also uses an approach that resembles Johnson's theory.
[21] Scholars appear to base their ideas about social breakdown on the ideas of Kim Yong-sŏp who argues increased land ownership helped propel lower class men into nobility (Shin 1978, 188).

protecting peasants began to unravel.[22] The result of these social changes was the 'breakdown of feudal society.'[23] The 'role and influence of the common people' in resisting the ruling system increased and they promoted change through rebellion.[24] Although scholars mainly focus on rebellion during the nineteenth-century, they see change dating back to the eighteenth-century, and view the Musin rebellion as evidence of a developing consciousness of resistance.

Structural scholars fall into two types; the regional-structuralists such as Cho Ch'anyong (2003), Kŏch'anggunsa (the history of the Kŏch'ang area of South Kyŏngsang Province, 1997), and Yi Chaech'ŏl (1986), emphasise the political resistance of Kyŏngsang Province elites. These scholars argue that Noron monopolisation of power destabilised the entire political system by disenfranchising both the Soron and the Namin of Kyŏngsang Province. The regional-structuralists believe discontent arising from discrimination against Kyŏngsang Province elites coincided with wider socio-economic stagnation and anger about tax exploitation resulting in rebellion. Thus, there was a two-fold dynamic at work behind the Musin rebellion: a regional dynamic and wider systemic change. The root of the rebellion was not only in the political situation that discriminated against regional elites, but also in the response of the lower classes to systemic disintegration.[25]

Minjung structural scholars Yi Chongbŏm (1997 & 2003), and Chŏng Sŏkchong (1994) focus less on regional causes of the rebellion and concentrate on its 'bottom-up' characteristics. Yi Chongbŏm sees the Musin rebellion in the context of a court political crisis and an ongoing attempt by lower classes to overthrow the medieval feudal system. The rebellion thus resulted from 'internal political and structural' contradictions.[26] Yi identifies cross-class hostility against the government as the link between elite and non-elite motivation, with each class developing a 'resistance consciousness.'[27] Yi classifies the Musin rebellion as an anti-government coup that became a 'military uprising' and believes the rebellion was part of growing class conflict arising from social change.[28] For Yi Chongbŏm, the Musin rebellion is important for what it says about the development of Korean society and a *minjung* consciousness. The rebellion is an 'inevitable' but 'temporary bridging stage' to a later more mature movement when a more effective challenge could be mounted; for example, the 1894-5 Tonghak rebellion (東學亂).[29] Chŏng Sŏkchong situates the Musin rebellion as part of an ongoing action from the *minjung* 'movement' at the vanguard of a drive to

[22] Ko Sŏkkyu 1992, 18.
[23] Shin 1978, 193.
[24] Han Sanggwŏn 1992, 481.
[25] Cho Ch'anyong 2003, 13-17
[26] Yi Chongbŏm 2003, 228 & 289.
[27] *Ibid*., 227 & 289.
[28] *Ibid*., 283 & 288
[29] Yi Chongbŏm 2003, 209 & 289; Cho Kwang 1997, 12; Cho Ch'anyong 2003, 90.

overthrow the 'regime,' and create a new society.[30] Chŏng Sŏkchong identifies the period after the 1592-8 Hideyoshi (壬辰倭亂) and (1627, 1636) Manchu invasions (丁卯/丙子胡亂) as the start of this period of unrest. Evidence of this developing consciousness can be found in the activities of bandits, anti-landlord gangs and millennial (style) cult groups.[31] One component of systems/value-consensus explanations is the state's capacity to correct the disequilibrium and avert rebellion. Musin scholars differ over their government's corrective abilities, with Yi Chongbŏm questioning its capacity to affect anything more than 'patch-up' reforms,[32] and Cho Ch'anyong explaining the government's post-rebellion social reforms as effective in preventing the reoccurrence of collective violence.[33]

There are a host of studies that deal with other aspects of the Musin rebellion. Kang Poksuk (1996) investigates the post-rebellion Noron-Soron political confrontation in Kyŏngsang province, Kim Sunsŏk (1992) analyses post-1728 plots and seditious poster incidents inspired by the Musin rebels. Yi, Kyech'ŏn (2003) investigates the life of Yi Sam, a key figure in the government suppression of the Musin rebellion. Most of these authors share the assumptions of systemic breakdown taken from the systems/ values-consensus theory.

Although scholars before and after 1980 contextualize the initiation of the rebellion in different ways, most scholars concur that the reasons for rebel failure were ideological.[34] O Kapkyun believes it was the failure to secure the mass support of the non-elites that sealed the rebels' fate.[35] Instead of providing the *minjung* with 'forward-thinking' leadership, the rebels emphasized narrow factional issues like allegations of regicide against Yŏngjo and this failed to create a mass organization.[36] Only Yi Chongbŏm takes a different tack and argues tensions caused by intra-rebel class conflict destroyed the rebel organization; the Musin rebellion failed because it had come at a time when consciousness was not sufficiently developed.

Recent English Language studies and Questions

The stress on teleological metanarratives of national development has distracted scholars from a more in-depth focus on the mechanics of the Musin rebellion itself, and causes for the initiation of violence in the immediate political context have been overlooked.[37] Frameworks of historical development are not always the best backgrounds against which to examine the particularity of a single event. Most

[30] Chŏng Sŏkchong 1994, 129.
[31] *Ibid*., 121-4 & 166-7.
[32] *Ibid*., 213-4-6, 289 & 1997, 176.
[33] Cho Ch'anyong 2003, 89
[34] *Ibid*., 28.
[35] O Kapkyun 1977.
[36] Yi Wŏngyun 1971, 86, & Yi Usŏng 1959, 728. 'Forward-thinking' indicates ideas of social emancipation and rights (Rudé 1985, 234).
[37] Only my study (Jackson 2011c) attempts to link the outbreak of violence to the 1727 Soron restoration.

structural representations of the rebellion present a rather static incident in an otherwise fluid period of development. For example, scholarly interest has generally focused on the initial motivations for elite and non-elite participation, and scholars have ignored the complex forces that motivated very different groups of rebels over the course of the rebellion. Studies of collective violence indicate that motivation and ideology in pre-modern contexts fluctuate over the course of action. Jack Goldstone argues that rebel organizations require 'flexibility and compromise' to deal with rapidly fluctuating political situations, so 'leaders frequently shifted their policies in response to changing circumstances.' [38] In my studies (Jackson 2010 & 2011c) I attempt to trace the shifts in ideology and motivation during the plotting of the Musin rebels.

There are significant problems with teleological methodological frameworks that position the Musin rebellion in the context of the development of Korea towards modernity, and this means important questions remain unanswered about the rebellion. Structural scholars identify different political crisis points separated by long periods and many intervening developments, making it difficult to establish causal links. Scholars argue that the Musin rebellion was a bridging stage to a period of higher consciousness, yet there were no other major attempts at rebellion on the peninsula until the 1811 Hong Kyŏngnae rebellion (洪景來의 亂), and scholars produce no testimonial evidence that might link systemic change directly to the rebellion. Removing the assumption of a link between systemic change and the Musin rebellion opens up alternative explanations for the initiation of violence. There are many theoretical tools to interpret the initiation of rebellion and motivations of rebels that as yet remain unused by Musin rebellion scholars - the comparative frameworks of Theda Skocpol, for example. Scholars locate the Musin rebellion in the context of later nineteenth century rebellion, but comparisons of 1728 with earlier rebellions like Yi Kwal may prove fruitful because of the common use of fifth-columnist rebels.

Another problem lies in academic explanations for the failure of the rebellion. Musin rebellion scholars argue the rebel organization had developed strong enough alternative values to galvanize non-elites into participation, but this same ideology caused the rebel failure because it failed to draw enough support. Not enough research has gone into explaining the remarkable initial success of the rebel organization and its equally rapid disintegration on the battlefield. One underexplored direction is the organizational and military features of the rebellion. My studies (Jackson 2011b & c) investigate rebel military strategy and link the arming of the rebel organization with the participation of rebel fifth-columnists. However, there still needs to be a more thorough study of the government's capacity to defend itself. Researchers like Diana Russell argue that the success or failure of rebellion depends to a vital extent on the military capacity of the state to defend itself.[39] Often, in their eagerness to prove systemic change by bottom-up forces, scholars neglect critical military and

[38] Goldstone 1991, 416-9.
[39] *Ibid*., 77-9.

organizational variables.

Another underexplored feature lies in the regional dynamics behind the Musin rebellion. Yi Chongbŏm carried out a breakdown of rebels according to class, but there has been no analysis of the regional breakdown of rebel support, which might provide clues to regional motivation. In addition, the reasons behind the withdrawal of Andong support for the rebellion have yet to be examined thoroughly. Overall, there has been little exploration of the fratricidal character of the rebellion, especially why some Soron opted to suppress their former political comrades on the battlefield.

Sources and further questions

Yŏngjo was keen to highlight the rebel treachery and also to record the court's military victory, so there are many primary sources on the Musin rebellion written in literary Chinese. Most studies are based on an analysis of official sources like the *Yŏngjo sillok* (英祖實錄, the Veritable records of Yŏngjo's reign, hereafter *sillok*), which contains the most comprehensive overview of the entire rebellion.[40] The 785 *sillok* entries on the rebellion provide important insights into the decision-making process in both the court and the rebel organization, and include daily court reports about rebel attacks, information about rebel court infiltration, interrogations, rewards and punishments, the progress of government suppression forces, and the state of popular feeling in the countryside. The most complete study of the sources available to the researcher of the Musin rebellion was undertaken by Ko Suyŏn (2004), who lists fifteen other official records.[41] The *Musin yŏk'okch'uan* (戊申逆獄推案, trial record of the Musin rebels, written in literary Chinese and the scribe text, *idu* 吏讀) provides 1800 pages of rebel interrogation records. Interrogations were protracted processes, often lasting days, and these interrogation records are repetitive and reveal data in unfiltered form. In contrast, the *sillok* and the *Kamnannok* (勘亂錄, record of the rebel investigation) are highly edited and less detailed compilations of countrywide reports and interrogations.

In addition, there are *yasa* (野史) or unofficial histories (private memoirs) such as the anecdotal and factionally biased *Yakp'amannok* (藥坡漫錄,Yakp'a's record of trivia), written by Yi Hŭiryŏng (李希齡) about the Musin rebellion.[42] There is also a series of histories carved on six stone epitaphs which were erected in areas affected by the rebellion.[43] These were produced unofficially by Noron or Wanso supporters keen to celebrate the role of their faction in the rebel suppression and include *P'yŏng'yŏngnambimun* (平嶺南碑文, Epigraph to the pacification of Kyŏngsang Province) erected in 1780 in Taegu.[44] There are many other unofficial sources including diaries from soldiers serving in government forces and the *Munannok*

[40] Ko Suyŏn 2004, 188.
[41] *Ibid*., 189.
[42] Palais 1971, 590
[43] Cho Ch'anyong 2003, 136-49.
[44] Yi Usŏng 1959, 730.

(戊亂錄, Record of the Musin rebellion) which describes the state of the country.[45]

One particularly problematic area is the use of primary sources, particularly when the sources themselves had different functions. Original interrogation reports may provides more accurate records of what was said by rebels, and the use of truncated (*sillok*) reports raises the problem of editing. Information was filtered out for a purpose and the criteria for selection are unclear. Susan Naquin, in her analysis of eighteenth-century Chinese rebellion, is critical of researchers' use of the 'highly truncated accounts of interrogations' and maintains that other records lower down the bureaucratic filter provide far more relevant detail to researchers.[46] In the case of the *sillok*, there is some evidence that the king and his officials manipulated sources when they received information they considered inconvenient to the court; for example, accusations against royals or allegations against Yŏngjo.[47] *Sillok* records would be used in the compilation of a dynastic history and there was a strong urge to represent the King positively for posterity.[48] As yet there has been no research on information omitted from the filtered sources and its significance.

There is clear evidence of bias over coverage of the Musin rebellion. Historians often overstate the guilt of men from opposing factions. Occasionally, Noron bias can be seen in additional commentaries prefacing reports, the purpose of which is to persuade the reader (and later court officials) of the guilt of individuals in more ambiguous cases such as that of Chŏng Sahyo.[49] Ko Suyŏn categorises sources according to pro-Noron/Wanso, independent and pro-Chunso bias, and assumes Wanso and Noron constituted a single side in the anti-rebel camp. However, analysis of the Musillan epigraphs shows that in the aftermath of the rebellion, Wanso and Noron sources attempted to exaggerate the records of members of their own factions to gain political capital. The *P'yŏng'yŏngnambimun* epigraph was erected by Noron to celebrate the heroic deeds of a Noron official in a Namin area. It provided an unofficial, public account of events, but also, as a statement of Noron suppression of the rebellion, served as a warning to the local population. According to Ko Suyŏn, the *Kamnannok* expresses the position of the Wanso, while the unofficial record *Munannok* takes a 'neutral' position, but in these and other sources there is no analysis of how the authors express those particular positions. These questions, as well as others concerning bias in the sources, remain unresolved.

---

[45] Ko Suyŏn (2004).

[46] Naquin 1976, 13.

[47] Rebels approached a royal, Lord Milp'ung to replace Yŏngjo on the throne; however, Yŏngjo, at one stage ordered charges against Lord Milp'ung to be expunged from the records for unclear reasons. *Yŏngjo sillok* 04/05/09 (kimi) 18:9b-10a, pp. 56-7/42.

[48] Palais 1971, 584

[49] Chŏng was a Soron official accused of collusion with the rebels. See *Yŏngjo sillok* 03/12/16 (chŏng'yu) 14: 17a, p. 688/41.

The problems of filtered and unfiltered sources and factional bias is compounded by the credibility of interrogations carried out under torture, and it is unclear the extent to which such testimony can be trusted. Few scholars analyze primary sources using any strategy to overcome the above problems, and it is difficult to ascertain whether scholars take confessions at face value or cherry-pick information to emphasize bias of their own. The development of strategies to deal with the above issues of truncated sources, factional bias and coercion remains an open question.

The complex forces that produce rebellions do not give up their secrets easily. Political theorists continue to debate the causes of rebellions and the motivations of rebels, and it is surprising that a rebellion as complex as the Musin rebellion, an explosion of violence standing alone in a period of calm, has not attracted more academic attention. As the above paper has shown, more research is required before a full explanation of the Musin rebellion can be truly attempted.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Cho, Ch'anyong [조찬용]. 2003. *1728 nyŏn Musinsat'ae koch'al. [1728년 무신사태 고찰*/An enquiry into the 1728 Musillan situation.*]* Seoul: iolive.

Cho, Kwang [趙珖]. 1997. "Introduction". [개요] In *Han'guksa 36: Chosŏn Hugi minjung sahoeŭi sŏngjang*, [한국사 36: 조선 후기 민중 사회 성장/The growth of popular society in late Chosŏn] edited by Kuksa p'yŏn ch'an wiwŏnhoe. Seoul: T'am'gu tang munhwasa: 1-18.

Chŏng, Sŏkchong [정석종]. 1994. "Yŏngjo Musillanŭi chinhaenggwa kŭ sŏngkyŏk". [영조 무신란의 진행과 그 성격/The character of the Musillan rebellion under Yŏngjo and how it occurred.] In Chosŏn hugi ŭi chŏngch'iwa sasang.' [조선후기의 정치와 사상] Seoul, Hankilsa: 119-171.

————————. 1989. Musillan'gwa Yŏngjonyŏn'ganŭi chŏngch'ijŏk sŏngyŏk [戊申亂과 英祖年間의 政治的 性格/The Musillan rebellion and the political character of Yŏngjo's rule]. In Tong'yang hak haksulhoe'ŭi kangyŏnch'o [東洋學學術會議 講演鈔]: 525-537.

Goldstone, Jack. *Revolution and Rebellion in the Early Modern World*. Berkeley; Oxford: University of California Press, 1991.

Haboush, JaHyun Kim. 1988. *A Heritage of Kings: One Man's Monarchy in the Confucian World*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Han, Sanggwŏn [한상권/ Han Sang-kwon]. 1992. "18 segi chŏnban myŏnghwachŏkŭi hwaldong'gwa chŏngbu'ŭi tae'ŭng ch'aek" [18세기전반 명화적의 활동과 정부의 대응책] In *Han'guk munhwa* 13 [한국 문화] 481-532. Seoul: Sŏul tae Han'guk munhwa yŏn'guso.

Jackson, Andrew David. 2010. "Rebel ideology in the Musin rebellion of 1728". *Cahiers d'études Coréennes 8* (*Mélanges offerts à Marc Orange et Alexandre Guillemoz*/Journal in honour of Marc Orange and Alexandre Guillemoz), Institut d'études Coréennes, Collège de France: 221-232.

————————. 2011a. "The causes and aims of Yŏngjo's Chŏngmihwan'guk." In *BAKS Papers*, volume 13 (March):17-34.

———————. 2011b. "Rebel military strategy in the Musin rebellion of 1728." In *BAKS* (British Association of Korean Studies) *Papers*, volume 13 (March):35-42.

———————. 2011c. *The 1728 Musillan rebellion: resources and the fifth-columnists*. Unpublished PhD dissertation. University of London.

Johnson, Chalmers. 1968. *Revolutionary Change*. London: Unipress.

Kang, Poksuk [姜福淑]. 1996. *Musillan hu no.soronŭi chŏngch'ichŏk tonghyanggwa Yŏngnamchŏngch'aek* [戊申亂 後 老.少論의 政治的 動向과 嶺南定策] Kyŏngbuk university M.A dissertation, Taegu: Kyŏngbuk taehakkyo.

Karlsson, Anders. 2000. *The Hong Kyôngnae rebellion 1811-1812: conflict between central power and local society in 19th-century Korea*. Stockholm: Stockholm University.

Kim, Sun Joo. 2007. *Marginality and Subversion in Korea: The Hong Kyŏngnae Rebellion of 1812*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Kŏch'anggunsap'yŏnch'an wiwŏnhoe [거창군사 편찬위원회]. 1997. *Kŏch'anggunsa* [거창郡史/ A history of Kŏch'ang county]. Kŏch'anggun, Kŏch'anggun munhwawŏn. *Kŏch'anggunsa: Musillan*: 558-613.

Ko, Sŏkkyu ———————. 1992. "18.19 segi nongminhangjaeng ŭi ch'ui" [18.19 세기 농민항쟁의추이/The development of peasant rebellion in the 18th and 19th centuries]. In *1894 nyŏn nongmin chŏnjaeng yŏn'gu* [1894년 농민 전쟁 연구/A study of the 1894 peasant war] Seoul: Yŏksa Pip'yŏngsa: 9-30.

Ko, Suyŏn [고수연]. 2004. "Yŏngjode Musillan yŏnguŭi hyŏnhwanggwa kwaje." [영조대 무신란 연구의 현황과 과제/The current state of research on the Musillan rebellion during the rule of Yŏngjo] *Honam sahak*, 39. [호남사학.] Taejŏn: Honamsahakhoe: 177-211.

Min, Hyonku. 2003. "Trends in the study of Modern Korean History, 1945-2000". *International Journal of Korean History* 5 (December): 1-28.

Munannok. Kyujanggak library microfiche. Seoul: Kyujanggak.

Musin yŏk'okch'uan. 1994. In *Kaksa tŭngnok* [각사등록] volumes 75-77, edited by Kuksa p'yŏn ch'an wiwŏnhoe. Seoul: Kuksa p'yŏn ch'an wiwŏnhoe.

Naquin, Susan. 1976. "True Confessions: Criminal Interrrogations as Sources for Ch'ing History". *Bulletin of the National Palace Museum* XI (1, March-April): 1-17.

O, Kapkyun [吳甲均]. 1977. "Yŏngjo cho Musillane kwanhan koch'al." [英祖戊申亂에 關한 考察/An examination of the Musillan rebellion during the early Yŏngjo period.] *Yoksakyoyuk*, 21. [*歷史敎育* 21집.] Yoksakyouk yŏnguhoe: 65-99.

———————. 1985. "Punmu kongshin'e taehan yŏngu". [奮武功臣에 대한 分析的 硏究]. *Ch'ŏngju kyoyuk Taehakyo nonmun cib*, 21.[청주교육대학교논문집 21]. Ch'ŏngju: Ch'ŏngju kyoyuk Taehakyo: 297-320.

Park, Chan-Seung. 1999. "Should Korean Historians Abandon Nationalism?" *Korea Journal* 39 (2) Summer 1999: 318-42.

Palais, James B. 1971. Records and Record-keeping in Nineteenth-Century Korea. *The Journal of Asian Studies* 30(3): 583-591.

———————. 1996. *Confucian Statecraft and Korean Institutions: Yu Hyongwon and the Late Chosŏn Dynasty*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

P'yŏng'yŏngnambimun , in *Kŏch'anggunsa*: 589.

Rudé, George F. E. 1981. *The Crowd in History: A Study of Popular Disturbances in France and England, 1730-1848*. London: Lawrence and Wishart.

Russell, D.E.H. 1974. *Rebellion, Revolution and Armed Force*. New York: Academic Press.

Shin, Susan. 1978. "Economic Development And Social Mobility in Pre-Modern Korea: 1600-1860." *Peasant Studies* 7 (3,Summer): 187-97.

Skocpol, Theda. 1994. *Social revolutions in the modern world*, *Cambridge studies in comparative politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Sŏng, Nak'hun [성낙훈]. 1979. *Han'guk sasang non'go* [A discussion of Korean thought/ 韓國思想論槁] Seoul, Tong'hwa ch'ulp'ansa.

Yi, Chaech'ŏl [李在喆]. 1986. "Sippal segi kyŏngsang'udo sarimkwa chŏnghŭiryang nan". [The rebellion of Chŏng Hŭiryang and the eighteenth-century South Kyŏngsang Province rural scholars/18세기 경상우도 사림과 정희량난] In *Taegusahak* [대구사학] Taegu: Taedaegusahakhoe: 33-72.

Yi, Chongbŏm [이종범]. 1997. "Yŏrŏ chiyŏkŭi hangjaenggwa musillan". [The Musillan rebellion and the struggle in different areas/ 여러 지역의 항쟁과 무신란] In *Han'guksa 36: Chosŏn Hugi minjung sahoeŭi sŏngjang*, [한국사 36: 조선 후기 민중 사회 성장] edited by Kuksa p'yŏn ch'an wiwŏnhoe. 176-209. Seoul: T'am'gu tang munhwasa.

———————— . 2003. "1728 nyŏn 'musillan'ŭi sŏngkyŏk". [1728년 무신란의 성격/The character of the 1728 Musillan rebellion.] In *Chosŏn sidae chŏngch'i saŭi chaejomyŏng* [조선 시대 정치사의 재조명] edited by Yi Taejin, 213-91Seoul: T'aehaksa.

Yi, Hŭiryŏng [李希齡] *Yakp'amannok* [藥坡漫錄/ Yakp'a's record of trivia] Volume 87. Kyujanggak library microfiche. Seoul: Kyujanggak. Seoul: Kyujanggak.

Yi, Kyech'ŏn [이계천]. 2003. "Yi Sam changgunŭi saengaewa hwaldong'e kwanhan yŏngu". [A study of the career and activities of General Yi Sam/李森 (이삼) 장군의 생애와 활동에 관한 연구] Kŏnyang University, education department, M.A. thesis. [건양대학교 교육대학원 碩士學位論文] Ch'ungnam: Kŏnyang university.

Yi, Sang'ok [李相玉]. 1969. "Yŏngjo cho Musillanŭi yŏngu". [英祖戊申亂의 硏究/A study of the Musillan rebellion during the early Yŏngjo period.] *Usŏksahak*, 2. *[右石史學*, 2 집]: 1-24.

Yi, Sŏngmu [이성무]. 2000a.*Chosŏn Sidae Tangjaengsa vol.1 t'angp'yŏnggwa sedo chŏngch'i* [A history of factionalism during the Chosŏn period/ 조선 시대 당쟁사 1: 탕평과 세도 정치]. Seoul: Tongbang media.

Yi, Usŏng [李佑成]. 1959. "Chibang t'oho tae chungangkwŏllyŏk ch'ŭngŭi t'ujaeng." [The struggle between local landowners and central power/ 地方土豪 對 中央權力層의 鬪爭] *Kyŏngsangtoji sang*. [*慶尙道誌* 上]: 723-730.

Yi, Wŏngyun [李源均]. 1971. "Yŏngjo Musillane taehayŏ- Yŏngnamŭi Chŏng hŭiryangnanŭl chungsimŭro". [About the Musillan rebellion during the Yŏngjo period, focussing on the rebellion of Chŏng Hŭiryang in Yŏngnam/ 英祖戊申亂에 대하여 嶺南의 鄭希亮亂을 中心으로]. *Pudaesahak*, 2. [*釜山史學* 2집] Pusan taehakyo sahakhoe: 63-87.

Yŏngjo sillok. 1955. In *Chosŏn wangjo sillok* [朝鮮王朝實錄] , volumes 41 & 42, edited by Kuksa p'yŏn ch'an wiwŏnhoe. Seoul: Tonggukmunhwasa.

Yun, Naehyŏn, Yi Hyŏnhŭi, Pak Sŏngsu [윤내현, 이현희, 박성수]. 2005. *Saero'un han'guksa* [New History of Korea/새로운 한국사]. Seoul: Jipmundang.

STUDIA UBB PHILOLOGIA, LVIII, 1, 2013, p. 173 - 184
(RECOMMENDED CITATION)

KOREAN CONFUCIAN MORAL SELF-ACCOMPLISHMENT AND POSTMODERN ETHICS

DIANA YUKSEL[1]

ABSTRACT. ***Korean Confucian Moral Self-Accomplishment and Postmodern Ethics.*** This paper analyzes the key concepts in Yi Hwang - Toegye's ethics and suggests the relevance of the Korean thinker's teachings for the postmodern ethics. Moral duty is a central process in Toegye's moral teachings and a key element in this process is the assumed responsibility for the other (*seo* 恕). In Toegye's moral teachings the responsibility for the other is expressed by practicing ritual reverence (*gyeong* 敬). This is also one of the very basic ways of achieving self-accomplishment and becoming what Confucius considers an ideal of moral cultivation: "inner sage, outer king". In the postmodern ethical approaches of Emmanuel Lévinas or Zygmunt Bauman this would be translated into establishing an ethical basis for the human moral behaviour through an asymmetrical relationship between the self and the other, where the other comes before the self. The necessity of moral self-cultivation is enforced not only by the subjective and suggestive individual morality, but also by the concrete duty to social adequacy. The paper shows thus that the Korean Confucian ethics from the 16th century and the postmodern ethics of Lévinas and Bauman both recommend a spiritual methodology where the moral self-cultivation, whether through the practice of reverence (Toegye) or by applying the principles of proximity in human relations (Lévinas), is a necessary element in the definition of the human being.

Keywords: Confucianism, postmodern ethics, moral duty, self-cultivation, moral responsibility.

REZUMAT. ***Desăvârşirea morală confucianistă şi etica postmodernă.*** Articolul analizează concepte cheie din teoriile etice ale gânditorului coreean Yi Hwang – Toegye şi observă relevanţa acestora pentru etica postmodernă. Datoria morală este unul dintre procesele centrale ce se desprind din învăţăturile lui Toegye, iar unul dintre elementele fundamentale ale acestui proces este ideea responsabilităţii asumate pentru celălalt (*seo* 恕). Pentru Toegye, această responsabilitate pentru celălalt se manifestă prin practica seriozităţii reverenţiale (*gyeong* 敬). Aceasta este, în fapt, o metodă fundamentală de cultivare a sinelui pentru a atinge idealul etic confucianist enunţat de Confucius prin formula ”înţelept în interior şi rege în exterior”. În teoriile eticii postmoderne ale lui Emmanuel Lévinas sau Zygmunt Bauman, acest desiderat s-ar traduce în stabilirea unei

[1] Diana Yuksel is Assistant Professor of Korean language and literature at the University of Bucharest. She obtained her M.A. from Yonsei University, Faculty of Philosophy and her Ph.D. from the University of Bucharest, Doctoral School of Literary and Cultural Studies. E-mail: diana.yuksel@g.unibuc.ro.

baze etice a comportamentului uman pe baza unei relații asimetrice între sine şi celălalt, în care celălalt stă întotdeauna înaintea sinelui. Necesitatea cultivării morale a sinelui este susținută nu doar de moralitatea subiectivă şi sugestivă a individului, dar şi de datoria concretă a acestuia de adecvare socială. Această lucrare subliniază prin urmare faptul că atât etica neoconfucianistă coreeană, cât şi etica postmodernă recomandă un tip de metodologie spirituală în care cultivarea sinelui, fie prin practica seriozității reverențiale (Togye), fie prin aplicarea principiului proximității în relațiile dintre oameni (Lévinas), e un element ce defineşte fundamental omul.

Cuvinte cheie: Confucianism, etică postmodernă, datorie morală, cultivarea sinelui, responsabilitate morală.

1. Introduction

Confucianism and postmodernism may appear at a first glance as a strange reunion of terms and an improbable proximity. The gap between the two is not set only by the distance in time, but also by a difference in consistence. While postmodernism is defined by a heterogeneity irreducible to any unifying principle (postmodern philosophy stipulates the failure of traditional metaphysics and of the "meta-stories" that justified it and advocates for a rehabilitation of Derrida's difference – differance) the Neo-Confucian orthodoxy of the 16th century in Korea is characterized by homogeneity and a rigorous discipline of abiding by the Confucian orthodoxy. But they may not be so far apart if we see "postmodernism" as a very personal phenomenon, a state of mind rather than a state of things in a historic context, a special kind of approach to and a new perspective on philosophic issues, which has been given various names (post- or neo-structuralism, deconstructivism or post-heideggerianism, etc.), but which retained in all instances one major trait: the constant to and fro play between two major poles – recovering tradition and pursuing novelty. In the same way, Korean Neo-Confucianism aimed for recovering traditional values, redefining them and completing them with new ideas, following a long lasting Confucian tradition, that started with the Confucian desiderate "I transmit rather than create."2

Considering that the most evident *locus communis* between the two thought forms is the concern for the human being and that ethics is a central theme, the investigation will start from the humanist ideal of moral self-accomplishment, an ideal that the Korean Neo-Confucian thinkers from the 16th century put into practice at both the individual level as well as that of the social group by becoming themselves paragons of moral behavior and social reverence and by promoting the reformation of the government and the whole society through applying Confucian ethics. The idea of moral self-transformation constitutes the foundation of the whole system of Confucian thought. As Mou Zongsan (1909-1995), one of the iconic philosophers of the new Neo-Confucian movement (in many ways a kind of post-

[2] Analects, 7:1

modern Confucianism), points out if we were to think from a general perspective, the main characteristic of the Chinese philosophy is the emphasis on inner ethics and subjectivity. In other words, self-cultivation lies in the center of Chinese philosophy.[3] Mou Zongsan shows that all of the three main philosophical currents in East Asia – Confucianism, Daoism, Buddhism – underlined the importance of subjectivity, but that only Confucianism clearly defined the idea of subjectivity and turned it into inner morality, which Mou Zongsan also calls humanity (*ren* 仁). Extrapolating from Mou Zongsan's approach to Chinese Neo-Confucianism from Song and Ming we may consider that the ethical dimension of the ideology of Korean Confucian thinkers from the 16th century is definitory for Korean Confucianism as well as for the direction of the 20th century postmodern ethics. Therefore, our attention will go towards this ethical dimension of the Korean Neo-Confucianism, which on one hand follows the path of the classical Neo-Confucian orthodoxy and its interest in metaphysics, and on the other hand develops a new direction through the constant concern for putting into practice the philosophical moral concepts. This is a new type of moral metaphysics, a type of "applied ethics", not with the implications given to the term by 20th century philosophy, but in the sense of "putting ethics into practice", as it appears in the works of the Korean thinker Yi Hwang - Toegye (1501-1570), where the individual project of perfecting one's self as a scholar and as a human being becomes part of a "communal act"[4] which implies reverence, sincerity and responsibility for the other.

2. The self and the other or "inner sage, outer king" (*nei sheng wai wang* 內聖外王)

Moral duty is a central concept in Toegye's teachings, especially in his work "Ten Diagrams for Sage Learning" (*Seonghak sipdo* 聖學十圖). "Sage learning" (*seong hak* 聖學) is a concept used often by Confucian thinkers to point out the duty of the human beings (especially monarchs) to reach self-accomplishment and the utmost human quality, the virtue of humanity (*in* 仁). One of the key elements in this self-becoming process is the assumed responsibility for the other (*seo* 恕). In Toegye's moral teachings the responsibility for the other is expressed by practicing ritual reverence (*gyeong* 敬). This is also one of the very basic ways of achieving self-accomplishment and becoming what Confucius considers an ideal of moral cultivation:

[3] In *Xin ti yu xing ti* 心體與性體(*The substance of the mind-heart and the essence of the human nature*) Mou Zongsan does not clearly define the moral metaphysics, but he does talk about a system of thought which aims for the understanding of the fundamental metaphysic entities throught the moral human acts.

[4] Mary Evelyn Tucker, "Introduction" to *Confucian Spirituality*, volume 2, 2004, p. 4

"inner sage, outer king" (*nei sheng wai wang* 內聖外王). In the postmodern ethical theories of Emmanuel Lévinas or Zygmunt Bauman this would be translated into establishing an ethical basis for the human moral behavior through an asymmetrical relationship between the self and the other, where the other comes before the self. In his book, *Postmodern Ethics*, Bauman reflects on Løgstrup[5]'s theory of anxiety, a theory based on the uncertainty of the moral self, which, being a self-interpreter of what would be the ethical demands, cannot measure the quality of his actions, and is always uncertain about the correctness of his interpretation since there is no convention and no limit to establish clearly the moral duty. Bauman postulates that moral anxiety is the unique substance that the moral self has ever possessed. The moral self generates the impulse to act, not the knowledge of what ought to be done. Therefore, the uncertainty and the endemic dissatisfaction of the moral self towards itself become the foundation of morality: "The moral self is a self always haunted by the suspicion that it is not moral enough."[6] Although the Confucian idea of moral duty, of "that what ought to be so" (*suo dang ran* 所当 然) stipulated by Mencius seems to be beyond questioning, there is a kind of anxiety there too. Confucius himself is haunted by something similar to moral anxiety since he sets the ideal of benevolence and humanity (*ren*) so high out of reach that he deems worthy of it only the sage kings of the mythical times. He himself is *only hoping* to come close to such a high moral value:

> "How can I dare to lay claim to either sageliness or Goodness? What can be said about me is no more than this: I work at it without growing tired and encourage others without growing weary."[7].

Although in the *Analects* the master often talks about *ren*, an explicit definition of the concept is nowhere to be found. What we are offered is a series of attributes of this concept. For Confucius, *ren* mean to "care for others" (*Analects*, 12:22) in a similar way in which for the European postmodern Lévinas humanity is the responsibility for the other[8]. The responsibility for the other, or the reciprocity (*shu* 恕, *seo* in Korean) is a fundamental quality for someone who aspires at reaching the ideal of humanity. The way of practicing this moral responsibility implies accepting the unbalanced relationship of the self and the other, a state of mind of being for the other ("être-pour-l'autre").

"The man of perfect virtue, wishing to establish himself, seeks also to establish others; wanting to realize himself, he helps others to do so. To be able to grasp what is near, this may be called the way of *ren*." (*Analects*, 6:30)

In other words, through the effort spent over the self, one relates oneself to the others, the initiative belonging in the first place to the moral self, who is the

[5] Knud Ejler Løgstrup, *The Ethical Demand, op. cit*. in Zygmunt Bauman, *Postmodern Ethics*, p. 78
[6] Zygmunt Bauman, *Postmodern Ethics*, p. 80
[7] *Analects*, 7:34, translated by Edward Slingerland, p. 75
[8] Emmanuel Lévinas, "No Identity", in *Collected Philosophical Papers*, p. 149

moral agent, responsible for the setting of the moral behavior. For Lévinas this means that regardless of all the reciprocal relations between myself and the other, I should be the one who always make a step further towards the other.[9] Everything begins with the moral anxiety, which gives way to a certain kind of exigency towards oneself to do what is appropriate, or, in Confucius' world, to keep one's mind-heart in a central position (*zhong* 中), which ensures a "perfectly balanced conduct."[10]

"The gentleman is benevolent without being wasteful, imposes labor upon the people without incurring their resentment, desires without being covetous, is grand without being arrogant, and is awe-inspiring without being severe".[11]

This double axis of the self and the other creates a relational web based on respect, reciprocity and reverence. For Toegye, the rules of this relational field revolving around this last concept, reverence (*gyeong* 敬), have almost the same importance in defining humanity as *ren* has for Confucius. Just like the virtue of *ren*, *gyeong* is a bridge for relational virtues, along with the ideas of reciprocity and sincerity, creating the basis for the ethical and hierarchical systems that govern the Korean society. The idea of reverence and seriousness in the relation to the other is found in the *Book of Changes*. In the *Commentary on the Kun Hexagram* the book says:

> "The noble man keeps his inner self straight [*zheng*] by means of reverence [*jing*]. and keeps his outer life square by means of righteousness."[12]

The lines in the *Classic of Changes* refer to the morally achieved men of the past (sage kings and noble men) who truly understood the importance of the vital axis Heaven-Earth-Man and maintained an attitude of reverence towards it. Later, the Chinese Neo-Confucian thinker Cheng Hao (1032-1085) commented that cultivating the reverent seriousness was the way to unify internal and external life and Zhu Xi (1130-1200) underlined the importance of *reverence* by saying that the heart-mind should be cultivated with seriousness and reverence[13]. Following in the footsteps of his revered Chinese predecessor, Toegye will later state that "*gyeong* is the beginning and the end of the learning of sage hood."[14]

The necessity of moral self-cultivation is enforced not only by the subjective and suggestive individual morality, but also by the concrete duty to social adequacy. Therefore, in the Confucian ethics, the discussion is not limited solely to the problem of the subject. The subject is continuously defined through its

---

[9] Emmanuel Lévinas, *Otherwise than Being or Beyond Essence*, trad. Alphonso Lingis, Martinus Nijhoff, p. 84

[10] *Analects*, 13:21

[11] *Analects*, 20:2, Edward Slingerland, p. 233

[12] *The Classic of Changes – A New Translation of the I Ching as Interpreted by Wang Bi*, translated by Richard John Lynn, "Hexagram2: Kun - Second Yin - Commentary on the Words of the Text", p. 147

[13] Chang Wing-tsit, *A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy*, p. 548

[14] *Toegye jeonseo*, 7:33a (v.1, p. 210) *op. cit*. in Edward Y.J. Chung, *Neo-Confucian Understanding of Human Nature and Emotions*, p. 247

social role, and the correct accomplishment of this role becomes its ethic goal. The Confucian social ethics is therefore an ethics of reciprocity (*seo*). For Emmanuel Lévinas this is "the attention one pays to the other", be it the outer other or the inner other. For Toegye, the essence of moral self-accomplishment is the cultivation of the moral mind-heart (*sim* 心) through reverence (*gyeong*) and the practice of humanity (*in*), having as result the control of selfish desires. Thus, when one can control his personal interest and the selfish intentions, one can fulfill his adequate role and relate correctly to the other, or, in Levinas's words, one becomes able to "think the other".

The interest of the Neo-Confucian scholars such as Toegye in metaphysics and the moral transformation in the spirit of Confucian humanism led to the renowned philosophical debate on the Four Beginnings and the Seven Emotions (*Sachillon* 四七論). One of the problems that aroused from there was that of acknowledging the difference between the human nature and the nature of other entities in the phenomenal world. As a result, the ideas of human nature and the relationships between human beings were given a central place in the Neo-Confucian thought. The study of the human nature and the interhuman relationships has at its center the world of the mind-heart (*sim* 心). For the Korean Neo-Confucian scholars *sim* was not only an object of cognitive knowledge, but they defined it as the locus of reverence and seriousness (*gyeong*). Toegye was the scholar who emphasized even more the importance of reverence, which became one of the fundamental concepts of his philosophy. In his iconic work "Ten Diagrams for Sage Learning", five of the diagrams are developed around the idea of the nature of the mind-heart and present the reverence (*gyeong*) as a method of self-cultivation: "the reverence is the essential element that constitutes the beginning and the end of the learning of a sage" and it is also "the principle that guides the mind-heart and the myriad things (*man mul* 萬物)"[15]. The Korean master reiterates the key-thought of the Confucian self-accomplishment, "inner sage, outer king", by saying that for moral cultivation one needs to "correct the inner self [mind-heart] through reverence" (*gyeong yi jeong ne* 敬以直內). By giving a new dimension to the concept of reverence, Toegye recovers and develops further the Confucian humanism and Confucius' bet on man – "le pari sur l'homme" (Anne Cheng). In his ethical system, devotion and sincerity (*ji seong* 至誠) play a central role in the process of moral self-cultivation, which is an individual act as well as an engaged action towards the society, in the same way that things were imagined by the grand masters Confucius and Mencius. The reverence is essential both for the intellectual investigation, where it translates into concentration and genuine study, and for the practice of ethics, where it means ritual propriety.

[15] *Toegye jeonseo*, vol.2, Seonggyungwan Daehakgyo, Seoul, 1958, 1:195b-211a

"If one takes up one diagram for consideration, he should entirely focus his attention on that diagram, as if he did not know there were any others; if one takes up one matter for practice, he should entirely focus his attention on that one matter as if ignorant that any other existed."[16]

Toegye advances thus a spiritual methodology where the self-cultivation through the practice of reverence is required by the criteria of subjective virtue and of social coercion. To this end, Toegye warned against the "making intellectual concerns an end in themselves." (M.C.Kalton – Introduction, p.14) and emphasized the need of applying the theory to one's behavior.

"And it is by the constant practice of mindfulness (*gyeong*) that one combines thought and learning; it is the single, consistent thread which runs through the states of both activity and quiet, that whereby one may harmonize and unify his inner [dispositions] and outward [activity], making that which is manifest one with that which is subtly latent.21 As for how one is to do this, he must preserve [the proper dispositions of] the mind by exercising strict composure and quiet recollection, and exhaustively investigate principle through study, inquiry, and the exercise of thought and discernment."[17]

The source of the powering agents of the supreme virtue of humanity (sincerity, reverence, reciprocity, righteousness) is the mind-heart. Following Zhu Xi's description, Toegye imagined the mind-heart as a physical space of "half a jeon" (*ban jeon* - 方寸), a meeting ground for the moral mind governed by the moral principle (*yi* 理) and the human mind (the repository of desires and emotions) governed by the vital energy (*gi* 氣). As such, the simple human mind-heart is constantly under the threat of giving in to the selfish desires, while the subtle moral mind is guiding the man towards moral duty. But this is achievable only through moral discipline. Moral discipline requires the nourishing and cultivating (*jeonyang* 存養) of the original moral mind when the principle (*yi*) is hidden and resting, before it becomes manifest and the scrutinizing of the self (*seongchal* 省察) when the principle is moving having the vital energy (*gi*) as support. For Toegye, this moral effort is necessary and compulsory for the man to be able to distinguish the moral principle from the selfish desires and thus reach moral achievement[18]. Therefore, to do what morally ought to be so means to "abide in reverential seriousness" (*geogyeong* 居敬), which is the "learning of the morally accomplished men" (*gunja ji hak* 君子之學), which Toegye calls the "learning of reverence" (*gyeonghak* 敬學)[19].

[16] Michael C. Kalton, *Ten Diagrams on Sage Learning*, "Address Presenting the Ten Diagrams", p. 28
[17] *Ibid*.
[18] *Toegye jeonseo* 1:205b
[19] *Toegye jeonseo*, 29:15a, "Letter to Kim Yi Jeong"

"When the student is sincerely able to abide to reverence [*gyeong*] and makes the clear distinction between the principle and the desires, his efforts of nourishing and cultivating [it] will be deep. If the self-examination and correction of the mind-heart is continued with sincerity for a length of time, one can reach a state of detachment."[20]

Toegye sees the way of mind cultivation as an inner-directed and spiritual task of self-transformation. In this regard we may identify his learning as a "new kind" of Cheng-Zhu school that stresses "spiritual mind cultivation". In the *Diagram of Heaven's Imperative Explained* (*Cheon myong do seol* 天命圖說), the Korean philosopher gives primordial importance to the learning of reverence, which is the "beginning and the end" of moral education and thus quintessential to becoming morally accomplished:

> "When the mind is tranquil, the superior man preserves and nourishes its "substance". When feelings and intentions are aroused, one examines and corrects oneself and rectifies their usefulness. If one does not take *gyeong* to be the first principle of learning, how can one establish the original mind? Hence, before the mind is aroused, the learning of the superior man is to take *gyeong* as the first principle and to give full effort to "preserving and nourishing". After the mind is aroused, it is to give full effort to self-examination and self-correction. This is the reason why *gyeonghak* completes the beginning and the end."[21]

The moral effort pays off only by constant practice, only if continued "for a length of time". In order to do this, the method of practicing reverence should be doubled by the discipline of controlling one's mind-heart (*sim beob* 心法). Toegye revisits the mencian theory of the inherent goodness of the human nature. When a human being is born and the germs of the human nature are still latent, the selfish desires are not manifest. With the growth of the human being and the coming into contact with the environment, the material desires (fuelled by the vital energy) dominate and the pure principle of the inherent human nature is lost. Through the constant moral effort of practicing reverence, the selfish desires and the emotions triggered by the social environment can be suppressed. The evil (*ak* 惡) is present in the individual just as the good (*seon* 善) is. The prevalence of the evil is an acquired condition, it is "the failure of the individual to nurture his human nature inherently good"[22]). So what one needs to do is the practice of good nature. Toegye warns against the precarious balance of power between good and evil in man and shows that the selfish desires can become manifest with any hesitation from the path of moral

[20] *Toegye jeonseo*, 7:24b, v.1, p. 205, "Letter to Yi Pyeong Suk"
[21] *Toegye jeonseo*, v.3, p.144, *op. cit.* in Edward Chung p. 252
[22] Chai-sik Chung, "Between Principle and Situation: Contrasting Styles in the Japanese and Korean Traditions of Moral Culture", in *Philosophy East and West*, p.262

cultivation. Therefore, the one who aims for moral self-accomplishment should be apprehensive of the selfish desires and guard his mind-heart against them with the vigilance of a castle guard:

> "Always cautious and fearful, never venture to slacken. Stop up your mouth like the opening of a bottle, and guard your intentions as you would a city wall.[23]

This state of moral vigilance is necessary. The moral anxiety which makes the human being question his actions can become useful for controlling the individual selfish desires and preserving the balance and the harmony of the mind-heart. Once the inner space is in harmony, the outer world will also be in harmony. In order for the mind to keep the inner balance and thus ensure the outer harmony, the subtle principle (*yi* 理) should prevail over the course vital energy (*gi* 氣) and the human mind should be one with the principle and unaffected by the movement of *gi*. The constant practice of reverence is one way to keep the unity of the mind-heart and the principle and secure the control of the ethical virtue over the selfish desires. If the balance is lost, the consequences acquire ontological dimensions:

> "If one should falter for a single moment, selfish desire will put forth ten thousand shoots; one will be hot when there is no fire, cold when there is no ice. If there is a hair's breadth disparity [from what is right] Heaven and Earth will change their places; the Three Guidelines will perish and the Nine Laws will be wiped out."[24]

The cultivation of the mind-heart through reverence and seriousness implies respecting a set of rules of proper conduct that Toegye suggests to the king, rules which constantly remind the individual of him moral duty: attention paid to protocol, proper situational conduct, solemn silence, respect for the hierarchy, obedience in front of authority and most importantly, an ascetic attitude and repression of selfish desires and emotions:

> "When you go abroad, behave to everyone as if you were meeting an important guest; preside over affairs as if presiding at a sacrifice."[25]

The aura of dignity and seriousness projected over the one who abides by the practice of reverence mirrors the tranquility and the harmony of the mind-heart. For Toegye, the harmony reflects also through the unity of the inner world and the outer one. The social adequacy, the respect for hierarchy and etiquette, the reverence in conduct and the cultivation of the mind-heart become for Toegye valuable virtues:

> "Properly order your clothing and cap and make your gaze reverent; recollect your mind and make it abide, as if you were present before the Lord on High.4 The appearance of the feet must be as if they were heavy, the

[23] *Diagram of the Admonition for Mindfulness Studio*, translated by Michael C. Kalton, p. 178
[24] *Ibid*.
[25] *Ibid*.

disposition of the hands respectful. First select the ground and then tread; twist and turn [your way] through the ant mounds."[26]

The practice of reverence for achieving and preserving the harmony and the balance of the mind-heart and its unity with the transcendental principle through morally oriented actions should be doubled by a mental state of detachment. In other words, the active exterior should be balanced with an inner state of tranquility and they should mutually correct and control. Toegye's understanding of *gyeong* becomes in a way more spiritual than that of the previous Neo-Confucian scholars. He adds a personal dimension to the moral self-accomplishment not only through emphasizing the importance of the process towards going closer to the Buddhist idea of illumination than to that of the Confucian sage (*seong in* 聖人), a status virtually impossible to attain. The inner self-transformation cannot be though separated from the outer moral accomplishment of the individual as a social being. The self-cultivation through the practice of reverence has as ultimate goal an interior illumination, but not restricted to the inner individual world (like the Buddhist total detachment from the outer world), but an illumination of the self for the greater good of the other, according to the universal law of harmony, which encompasses "the nature of interaction, of flowing, of rising and falling, of action and non-action."[27]. Toegye continues thus the Confucian tradition of the inner cultivation of the mind-heart through the emphasis on the importance reverential seriousness and the exterior cultivation through the importance he gives to the social reverence. This is a kind of subjectivity that in postmodern ethics is set on an axis that goes from the interior towards the exterior. This is what Lévinas calls to go towards the other without worrying about his movement towards myself, to come close such that, regardless of all the mutual relationships that may be established between the self and the other, I should always be the one who takes an extra step towards the other.[28] The context for Lévinas is rather closer to ontology and the essence of being than to social ethics, but he admits that ontology should be interpreted not only as knowledge that divides the being, but also as a last resort to return to the identity of the being, a return to the original One, to which the being has an inevitable bond through the non-intentional participation to the history of humanity, if nothing else.[29]

3. Conclusions

The Korean Confucian ethics of Toegye from the 16th century and the postmodern ethics of Lévinas and Bauman recommend a spiritual methodology where the moral self-cultivation, whether through the practice of reverence (Toegye) or by applying the principles of asymmetric relationality (Lévinas), is a necessary

[26] *Ibid*.
[27] Zhang Zai, "Siku qianshu" in Zhang Dainian, *Key Concepts in Chinese Philosophy*, p. 275
[28] Emmanuel Lévinas *Otherwise than Being or Beyond Essence*, p. 84
[29] Emmanuel Lévinas, *Entre nous. Essais sur le penser-à-l'autre*

element in the definition of the human being. Regardless of the method, there are two levels of transformation involved: the level of the inner contemplation and that of the outer action. For Toegye one's moral duty is to "correct the inner space of the mind-heart with reverence" (*gyeong yi jik nae* 敬以直內) and/in order to "to regulate the outer world with righteousness" (*eui yi bang woe* 義以方外). Moral duty requires moral effort:

> "If one does not apply himself profoundly and truly accumulate [the results of] this effort for a long time, so as to have a clear view of the broad and shining wellspring and attain [the fruits of] being constantly mindful of integrity and truthfulness in speech and liberality and reverence in conduct in the course of daily life, it will be almost impossible to have the strength to extend and fulfill [this nature] with its inexhaustible responsive function."[30]

The spiritual transformation of the self in order to fulfill one's moral duty implies without a doubt a moral responsibility, that Confucians consider inherent to the human mind-heart, the source of morality, and in which the postmodern ethics finds the hope for the humanity. In the end, "moral responsibility is the most personal and inalienable of human possessions and the most precious of human rights."[31]

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bauman, Zygmunt (1993) *Postmodern Ethics*, Blackwell Publishing, Oxford UK & Cambridge USA

Bae, Jong-ho (1974) *Hanguk yugyosa*, Yonsei University Press

Chan, Wing-tsit (1963) *A Sourcebook in Chinese Philosophy*, Princeton University Press

Chang, Hao (1980) "Neo-Confucian Moral Thought and Its Moral Legacy" in *Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 39, No. 2/ February

Cheng, Anne (2002) *Histoire de la pensée chinoise*, Paris: Seuil

Chung, Chai-sik (2006) "Between Principle and Situation: Contrasting Styles in the Japanese and Korean Traditions of Moral Culture" in Philosophy East & West, Volume 56, No. 2, April

Chung, Edward Y. J. (1995) *The Korean Neo-Confucianism of Yi Toegye and Yi Yulgok: A Reappraisal of the "Four-Seven Thesis" and Its Practical Implications for Self-Cultivation*, Suny Series in Korean Studies, State University of New York

Chung, Edward Y.J. (1992) "Yi T'oegye on the Neo-Confucian Learning of Principle and Mind: A 'Religious' Way of Self-Cultivation" *Asian Profile* Volume 20, No. 5/ October, (pp. 353-365)

[30] *Toegye jeonseo*, "Letter to Yi P'yŏngsuk" in M. C. Kalton, p. 80

[31] Zygmunt Baumann, *Postmodern Ethics*, p. 250

Chung, Edward Y.J. (1990) *Neo-Confucian Understanding of Human Nature and Emotions. A Study of the "Four-Seven Thesis" in Two Korean Thinkers: Yi Toegye and Yi Yulgok*, UMI Dissertation Services

Helgesen, Geir (2003) "The Case for Moral Education", in *Confucianism for the Modern World*, edited by Daniel A. Bell and Hahm Chaibong, Cambridge University Press

Ivanhoe, Philip J. (1993) *Confucian moral self cultivation*, XVI The Rockwell Lecture Series, vol. 3. New York: Peter Lang

Jullien, Francois (2004) A *Treatise on Efficacy*. *Between Western and Chinese Thinking*, translated by Janet Lloyd, University of Hawaii Press, Honolulu

Kalton, Michael C. (1988) *Yi Hwang, To Become a Sage: The Ten Diagrams on Sage Learning*, New York: Columbia University Press

Kim, Hyoung-chan (2007) "Toegye's Philosophy as Practical Ethics: A System of Learning, Cultivation, and Practice of Being Human", *Korea Journal*, Vol.47 No.3/ Autumn

Kim, Yeon-Sook (2002) "An Encounter between the Ethics of the Other and Korean Confucianism: A Review of Toegye's Theory of Self-Cultivation as a Principle of Susceptibility to the Other", *Korea Journal*, Vol.42/ Winter (pp. 96-118)

Lee Dong-geun (2009), *Toegye "Seonghak sipdo"eui seonghakgwa jagi hyeoksineui bangbeop*, Dongbuka munhwayeongu je 20 jib, pp. 31-48

Lévinas, Emmanuel (1991) *Entre nous. Essais sur le penser-à-l'autre*, Éditions Grasset & Fasquelle

Lévinas, Emmanuel (1987) "No Identity", in *Collected Philosophical Papers*, translated by Alphonso Lignis, Martinus Nijhoff, The Hague

Løgstrup, Knud Ejler (1997) *The Ethical Demand*, University of Notre Dame Press

Lynn, Richard John, translator (1994) *The Classic of Changes – A New Translation of the I Ching as Interpreted by Wang Bi*, Columbia University Press, New York

Mou Zong San (1969) *Xin ti yu xing ti*, Taipei, Cheng-chung, vol. 1

Shun, Kwong-Loi, Wong, David B, editors (2004) *Confucian Ethics - A Comparative Study of Self, Autonomy and Community*, Cambridge University Press

Slingerland, Edward translator (2003) Confucius. *Analects - With Selections from Traditional Commentaries*, Hackett Publishing Company, Indianapolis/Cambridge

Tucker, Mary Evelyn (2004) "Introduction", *Confucian Spirituality*, volume 2, edited by Tu Weiming and Mary Evelyn Tucker, The Crossroad Publishing Company, New York

Yi Hwang (microfilm1999) *Seonghak sibdo*, Academy of Korean Studies

Yi Toegye (1986), *Toegye jeonseo*, 5 volumes, Seoul: Seongyungwan University Press

Youn, Sa-soon (1985) "T'oegye's Identification of 'To Be' and 'Ought': T'oegye's Theory of Value.", *The Rise of Neo-Confucianism in Korea*, editors Wm. Theodore de Bary and JaHyun Kim Haboush New York: Columbia University Press

Yu Seong Seon, editor (1998) Yi Hwang. *Seonghak sipdo*, *Gyoyukgwa haksa chulpansa*, Seoul

Zhang, Dainian (2002) *Key Concepts in Chinese Philosophy*, traducerea Edmund Ryden, Yale University Press: New Haven and London & Foreign Languages Press: Beijing

STUDIA UBB PHILOLOGIA, LVIII, 1, 2013, p. 185 - 195
(RECOMMENDED CITATION)

ON THE MEANING OF HERITAGE IN SOUTH KOREA: THE CASE OF SUNGNYEMUN

CODRUȚA CUC[1]

ABSTRACT. ***On the meaning of heritage in South Korea: The case of Sungnyemun.*** The meaning of national heritage in the Republic of Korea is produced, controlled and communicated by the Cultural Heritage Administration (CHA), but different other actors, such as academics, citizens participate in constant debate and renegotiation of the meaning of cultural properties. CHA defines heritage in terms of representativity and postulates it as the essence of Korean culture, national identity and history. How all these are embodied in one piece of heritage is exemplified through the case of Sungnyemun, the Great South Gate of Chosŏn dynasty capital, Hanyang. The history of the gate is equated with the very destiny of the Korean people, but since this history also includes traumatic traces of the colonial period, the meaningfulness of the site has not remained undisputed. Two controversies, in 1996 and 2005, have revolved around the meaning of Sungnyemun and its potent symbolic value – or lack of, questioning the master narrative that CHA has imposed on the significance of the gate. However, the arson incident of 2008 and the ways in which CHA has dealt with it are clear proof that the final control over the meaning of heritage is owned by the state authorities, who decide how and when to invest symbolic meaning in patrimonial properties. The analysis of the case of Sungnyemun enables us to see the dynamics between the established, controlled definition of heritage and its constant changing, fluid meaning. Ultimately, this brings to light how symbolic meaning is attributed to heritage through complex processes such as conflict and negotiation.

Keywords: South Korean national heritage, Sungnyemun, Cultural Heritage Administration, *kukpo* (national treasure)

REZUMAT. ***Despre semnificația patrimoniului în Coreea de Sud: Cazul Sungnyemun.*** Semnificația patrimoniului național în Republica Coreea este produsă, controlată și propagată de către Administrația Patrimoniului Cultural (APC), dar diferiți alți actori, precum profesorii universitari sau cetățenii, participă la dezbateri și renegocieri constante de semnificație. APC definește patrimoniul în termeni de reprezentativitate și îl prezintă drept esența culturii coreene, a identității naționale și a istoriei. Cazul Sungnyemun, marea poartă de sud a capitalei dinastiei Chosŏn, Hanyang, exemplifică modul în care toate aceste valori sunt reprezentate prin patrimoniu. Istoria porții este echivalată cu însuși destinul poporului coreean, dar cum această istorie poartă

[1] Codruța Cuc has been an Assistant Profesor in Korean Studies at Babeș-Bolyai University, Faculty of Letters, Department of Asian Languages and Literatures since 2009. After studying in Japan and South Korea she received her PhD from the Faculty of Letters at Babeș-Bolyai University with a dissertation on East Asian Mirrors. Her academic interests include Korean heritage and Korean mythology. E-mail: codrutacuc@yahoo.com.

şi urmele traumatice ale perioadei coloniale, semnificaţia porţii nu a rămas nedisputată. Două controverse, în 1996 şi 2005, au avut ca temă semnificaţia porţii Sungnyemun şi măsura în care are valoare simbolică, punând sub semnul întrebării discursul pe care APC l-a impus. Dar incendiul din 2008 şi modalitatea în care APC a făcut faţă arată că autorităţile statului sunt cele care deţin controlul final asupra semnificaţiei patrimoniului, luând decizii despre felul în care se investeşte sens simbolic în bunurile de patrimoniu. Analiza cazului Sungnyemun ne permite să vedem dinamica dintre definiţia stabilită, controlată a patrimoniului şi semnificaţia sa mereu fluidă. Această dinamică aduce la lumină procesul prin care se atribuie patrimoniului semnificaţie simbolică, prin conflict şi negociere.

Cuvinte-cheie: patrimoniu naţional sud-coreean, Sungnyemun, Administraţia Patrimoniului Cultural, *kukpo* (comoară naţională)

The Cultural Heritage Administration (CHA) and the definition of national heritage

The Cultural Heritage Administration (*Munhwajaech'ŏng*, hereafter CHA) is a governmental agency of sub-ministerial rank, entrusted with the role of managing all forms of heritage in the Republic of Korea. O its website, CHA places its own origins in the "Former Royal Household Affair Office" created in November 1945 by the US Military Government in order to manage the Korean patrimony. The name of the office deliberately suggests continuity with the Chosŏn Dynasty royal house, not the colonial "Committee on the Investigation of Korean Antiquities", created by the Japanese government in 1916, although it has been shown that the main direction, the first classification and the management practices related to heritage were inherited from the colonial era (Pai 2001, 82). It was the reorganization of the office as the "Office of Cultural Properties" (*Munhwajae Gwalliguk*) in October 1961 and the enactment of the Cultural Properties Preservation Act (*Munhwajae pohobŏp*) in 1962 that truly set the beginning of a new era in the systematic treatment of heritage issues. The Office of Cultural Properties functioned under this name until May 1999, under the aegis of the Ministry of Education, Ministry of Culture and successive ministries managing cultural issues. In 1999, the agency was renamed "Cultural Heritage Administration" and was given the status of rank-one independent government agency.

The role played by CHA in the management of heritage covers a large array of activities: it selects and investigates items that are eligible for registration as national heritage; ensures the protection and conservation of designated cultural properties; approves and supervises alteration and excavation projects; manages funds for restoration and all forms of heritage protection and management; promotes the meaning of national heritage at both domestic and international levels; conducts research and supports training and education in the field of heritage studies etc.

Another fundamental objective of the CHA is to communicate the meaning of cultural properties in such a way that its discourse inspires certain values and attitudes

related to heritage. The national patrimony is presented in its complexity: first, as the very embodiment of Korean culture, its essence, because the selection operated by decision committees when designating some pieces of heritage and rejecting others is supposed to ensure representativity, quality and authenticity.

Second, heritage is inevitably defined in terms of national identity, since it incorporates the spirituality of the ancestors, the "national spirit" (*minjok chŏngshin*) alive from immemorial times. This discourse, emphasizing the connection with the forefathers of the Korean people, was the main communication strategy of the Office of Cultural Properties during the dictatorial regime of Park Chung Hee (Pak Chŏng Hŭi, 1961-1979), when a sense of collective identity had to be created (Yim 2012, 165). But today the discoursive focus seems to have shifted on the idea that heritage has to be consumed through education and tourism, in order to have an increased social, cultural and economic value in the domestic and international arena.

Third, heritage is attributed the ability to offer a clear view into the past and a material, concrete way of access to history, which is why history education in the Republic of Korea incorporates the study of the historical value of national cultural properties. Although heritage poses a strong relation with the past, the way heritage is interpreted and presented to the public is not a rendering of history *per se*, but a representation of history. For instance, Najŏng Well is classified as a *historical* site (*sajŏk*) because it is the place where king Pak Hyŏkkŏse of Silla was presumably born in 1st century BC, according to the mythological account of his birth in 13th century *Samguk yusa*. The acquired value of heritage, as opposed to its intrinsic value, is obvious here: the association with the founder of one of the ancient kingdoms projects a symbolic value upon the site for the Korean people.

Emphasizing the value of national heritage, CHA urges people to cherish and protect it from being damaged, destroyed, stolen or alienated. The message conveyed through the official website of CHA is that protecting heritage is a collective goal, one which makes every citizen responsible and actively involved. People are encouraged to *use* heritage, in other words, to embrace it as part of their casual lives and thus improve the cultural life of Korea. The straightforward way to consume heritage is through domestic tourism, which is promoted in order to create a personal relationship with the national culture and past.

A Short History of Sungnyemnun

The construction of Sungnyemun (崇禮門, literally "Gate of Exalted Ceremonies", better known as Namdaemun, "Great South Gate") began in 1396, as part of the process of consolidating Hanyang, the capital city of the newly founded Chosŏn Dynasty (1392-1910). After being finished in 1398, the construction served as the city's South Gate, an occasional place for state ceremonies and also a place where people living in the capital could find out what time of day it was, thanks to the gate bell. According to *Sejong Sillok*, in 1433 there was a debate about the geomantic

configuration of the area surrounding the gate, and an elevation of the gate base was suggested, in order to connect Sungnyemun with the neighboring mountains. It is uncertain whether the repair work done in 1447-1448 was related to this.

Significantly, the transformations the site had to withstand in the 20th century reflect the history of the period: between 1907 and 1909, the Fortress Wall in the vicinity of Sungnyemun was demolished in order to allow the enlargement of the roads and the construction of the railroad, projects done under the supervision of the Japanese colonial authorities. Sŏdaemun, the West Gate of the capital, was demolished completely. In Korean society, this is viewed as just another attempt at obliterating the national identity by destroying its long-standing symbols, "the plundering of the sovereign rights" (*kukwŏn ŭi ch'imt'al*) of the Korean people (Kungnip munhwajae yŏnguso 2008, 12). At the end of 2008, the year Sungnyemun burned down, the Sŏngyo Museum of Kyemyŏng University (Keimyung) released five photographs of the gate, held in the museum archives. The photos, taken between 1890 and 1935, illustrate the changes the site underwent during the colonial occupation: in a photo from 1925, a police station appears to be connected to the gate, the Fortress wall now long gone; by 1926 the *t'aegŭk* symbols from the upper level were erased, and the site was surrounded by a complicated network of electric wires, damaging its aesthetic. Commenting on these photos, an article from Yonhap News (*Ilche sidae Sungnyemun 'sunan ŭi yŏksa'*, "Sungnyemun under Japanese Rule. A history of sufferings", December 30, 2008) cites the opinion of Chŏng Sŏng-gil, the honorific director of Sŏngyo Museum, who identifies the gate as the symbol of the people's identity; although the Japanese tried to destroy it, they couldn't, and now the reconstruction of the gate after the 2008 incident has an additional meaning – to consolidate national identity. This kind of rhetoric equates cultural properties with history and identity, thus investing meaning and value in heritage and creating an emotionally charged symbol of identity.

In May 1934, the Japanese authorities designated 153 items as treasures (*pomul*), and Sungnyemun was treasure no. 1 (numbers were applied for inventory use, not for ranking). A year earlier, the government had enacted the "Preservation Law of Chosŏn Treasures, Scenic and Natural Monuments" (*Chosŏn pomul pojon myŏngsŭng ch'ŏnyŏn kinyŏmmul pojollyŏng*), according to which *pomul* could be defined as an exemplary piece of architecture, sculpture, painting, book, artifact found on archaeological sites or handicraft with historical and artistic value. Designating Sungnyemun as *pomul* no.1 with the intention of preserving and protecting it seems to contradict the view that the Japanese authorities tried their best at destroying the gate. In the Korean frame of mind, this contradiction is resolved by arguing that Sungnyemun and Hŭnginjimun (better known as Tongdaemun) were designated treasures no. 1 and 2, respectively, only because they were easy to manage. Moreover, Cho Min-jae brought to light the special meaning the two gates had for the Japanese: they were designated as *pomul* no. 1 and 2 because during the Imjin War (1952-1598) they were the victory gates through which the Japanese troops led by the daimyō Konishi Yukinaga and Katō Kiyomasa entered the capital. (Ch'amyŏ yŏndae 2008,

352). In colonial context, Sungnyemun and Hŭnginjimun became the symbolic gates of the triumphal return of the Japanese.

The severe damage incurred on Sungnyemun during the Korean War called for restoration projects in 1952, 1953 and 1954 (color restoration). Improved technical skills and better knowledge of conservation methods were applied during the restoration project of 1961-1963; within this period, the designation status of Sungnyemun was changed to national treasure (*kukpo*) no. 1 (on December 20, 1962), the oldest wooden structure in Seoul. There is a very fine difference between the two categories used by CHA in heritage classifications, *kukpo* (國寶, national treasure) and *pomul* (寶物, treasure). While *pomul* is defined on CHA's official website as "tangible cultural heritage of important value, such as historic architecture, ancient books and documents, paintings, sculpture, handicraft, archeological materials and armory", *kukpo* has an equivalent value with "treasures", but is "heritage of a rare and significant value in terms of human culture". Therefore the most important criterion distinguishing the two is singularity or rarity, since both "national treasures" and "treasures" must have historical and/or artistic value. There might be several *pomul* of the same kind, from different periods and various areas, while *kukpo* is exceptional or even unique.

Other fragmentary repair and conservation projects were carried out in the 1980s and 1990. Finally, the park surrounding the gate was designed in 2005 and inaugurated in 2006, in order to allow open access for the public.

Sungnyemun in September 2006 (Photo by author)

The "Kukpo no. 1" Controversy

A debate revolving around the status of Sungnyemun as *kukpo* (national treasure) no. 1 sparked off in 1996, engaging CHA committee members, specialists in heritage

and the general public. The proposal that was intensely discussed was the redesignation of *kukpo* no. 1 with a more representative and symbolic item than Sungnyemun was. The main problem with the South Gate being *kukpo* no.1 was the fact that it was part of a designation list and ranking that was inherited from the Japanese colonial government, who had taken the first steps in the management of Korean heritage.

At its founding in 1961, the Office of Cultural Properties inherited both the classification and the registration list made by the Japanese authorities with slight changes and made its first additions to this list in 1962 (Pai 2001, 85-86; Kim 2005, 18). Associated with the colonial management practices, Sungnyemun was for some people a constant reminder of a sorrowful time in Korean history. This was the main argument of those who wanted Sungnyemun replaced with a more meaningful, suggestive national treasure. In their view, the gate was not only a vestige of the colonial times, but also lacking in symbolic meaning and representativeness. Moreover, *kukpo* no. 1 should be an item loved by everyone and unique in the world. As an opinion poll conducted at the time showed, 38.5% (52 people) of the specialists and 32.4% (324 people) of the interviewed citizens were in favor of replacing Sungnyemun. (Munhwajae Kwalliguk 1996, 147)

The opponents of the idea – also the winning majority – argued that the number associated with every heritage item is just an identification number, not a ranking one. The order of national treasures on the list is merely determined by the order in which they are designated as heritage. Besides, Sungnyemun has enough representative historical and architectural value in order to remain a national treasure worthy of being listed first, and its replacement would only lead to confusion. However, it seems that the symbolic value of "no. 1", associated with excellence and outstanding features, triggered the imagination, passion and nationalist feelings of many who wanted their national identity better expressed through meaningful, untarnished symbols. According to the survey conducted at the time, Hunminjŏngŭm, Sŏkkuram, Tripitaka Koreana or Tabot'ap (in this order) were considered as having more "national treasure no. 1" material than Sungnyemun. (Munhwajae Kwalliguk 1996, 147)

The same debate reopened in 2005, using the same arguments on both parts. On November 8, 2005, the director of CHA at the time (Yu Hong-jun, also the famous author of the best-seller series *Na ŭi munhwa yusan tapsagi*, "Records of My Invetigations of Cultural Properties") suggested that Sungnyemun should be replaced as national treasure no. 1 with Hunminjŏnggŭm, which was considered a more representative symbol of Korean culture. The proposal aroused such intense criticism from the public that an emergency committee had to unite on November 14, but came to no conclusion. Sungnyemun was to remain *kukpo* no.1.

But if Sungnyemun were to be replaced with another item which was deemed more appropriate and valuable for its "Koreanness", that change in itself would create a ranking order and the numbers would cease to have simply an identification purpose. There is a dangerous side, however, to establishing a classification in which numbers represent value: who decides which item is more significant than another and based

on which criteria? The objections raised by some critics about the arbitrariness of the cultural heritage as a value system (Pai 2000, 13) indicate particularly the selection process and the mechanisms of power characteristic of the heritage administration committees. These are composed of academics, specialists and bureaucrats which have, at different times, different agendas – political, economic, social or cultural. They get to decide which heritage items are truly "Korean" or embody "Koreanness" more than other cultural properties.

Moreover, a cultural property like Sungnyemun is a valuable historic site even if parts of the history it has witnessed are unfortunate. Heritage that represents violent past events should not be ignored on the basis of the negative feelings it might generate for some people; on the contrary, it should be valued for being a reminder of adverse experiences that should never be repeated in history. Viewed as such, heritage embodies not only human achievement and greatness, but also loss and suffering that some people do not want to forget, preferring to learn from it.

The arson incident of 2008

On the evening of February 10, 2008, Sungnyemun was set ablaze by a 70-year old man, Ch'ae Chong-gi, and burned throughout the night under the shocked eyes of the entire nation, who watched the television news reports as firemen were striving to extinguish the fire. Ch'ae later confessed his crime and argued that it was his revenge for the unanswered petitions he had sent to the government, in which he complained that developers had not compensated him properly for a piece of land he had sold. He openly blamed president No Mu-hyŏn (Roh Moo-hyun, 2003-2008) for ignoring his petitions and held him directly accountable for the destruction of Sungnyemun.

The incident received intense media coverage and generated an enormous interest in national heritage and its management. It is crisis moments like this or conflicts related to heritage that draw people's attention to the meaning and value of heritage, management issues, and the result of management. Not only CHA representatives and heritage specialists and academics, but also the general public got involved in heated debates that lasted for months. Media reports reflected the stupefaction of the citizens and the fact that the public wanted immediate answers: how was it possible that somebody could so easily destroy one of the most cherished pieces of heritage? And, most importantly, who was responsible?

The civil society blamed CHA for not taking precautionary measures and examples of preventive procedures followed by other governments were often mentioned. For instance, *Korea Times* columnist Choe Chong-dae notes in his article in April 1, 2008, that Japanese authorities are taking much better care of their patrimonial wooden structures, and have implemented proper security measures. In the Republic of Korea, on the other hand, several other arson cases had previously occurred, which aggravated the situation and enraged citizens who blamed the authorities for negligence

and incompetence. Wooden structures such as the Naksansa Temple (2005), the Munjŏngjŏn Hall in Ch'anggyŏnggung Palace (2006), the Sŏjangdae Pavilion in Hwasŏng Fortress (2006) had been destroyed by fire in recent years, so it was obvious for the public that fire prevention measures should have been enforced in order to protect vulnerable heritage items from natural calamities and criminals. CHA was accused of complete negligence, but the authorities blamed their lack of preventive action on the low budget allocated for the management of cultural properties. Moreover, CHA defended itself by attributing responsibility for the protection to the administration of the Chung-gu District Office of the Seoul Metropolitan Government, who is the rightful manager of this state-owned property. Academics argued that it is not that easy to put blame on somebody: the employees of Chung-gu District Office who take care of Sungnyemun have no specific expertise in this kind of cultural property; besides, they cannot work continuously only on national treasures, and a larger budget was necessary. (Ch'amyŏ yŏndae 2008, 349)

As an immediate reaction to the harsh criticism it received, CHA promised to enforce within a year security measures in 144 wooden structures, palaces and royal tombs, consisting in fire extinguishers, alarm systems and permanent video surveillance (*Donga Ilbo*, March 20, 2008). In a failed attempt to make citizens involve themselves actively in the restoration of Sungnyemun, president Yi Myŏng-bak (Lee Myung-bak) suggested that people make donations for the project, estimated to cost 20 billion won. The public responded with violent criticism, making it clear that the sole responsible factors for the destruction of the site were the authorities.

Besides the problem of responsibility, the public was concerned with the potential changes in the value of Sungnyemun. Previously the Great South Gate was a landmark of Seoul, a symbol fundamentally identified with the history and life of the capital itself. However, now that the wooden structure was completely destroyed by fire and the gate had to be reconstructed, citizens questioned the value of Sungnyemun. Obviously, it could not be called the oldest wooden structure in Seoul anymore, even after rehabilitation. Therefore, what was left of its value as heritage was open for debate, and the issue of Sungnyemun being registered as national treasure no. 1 reemerged. Again, the validity of heritage designation practices was under scrutiny, and the evaluation criteria which determined which item became treasured heritage had to be made clear for the general public. This reinforces the idea that the value of heritage is subject to change according to a series of external factors, such as the economic market, historic circumstances, political environment etc. In this case, Sungnyemun was attributed a different meaning and value based on the fact that it was no longer seen as an authentic heritage site by one part of the public. They advocate for the change of *kukpo* no. 1, as they were tempted to associate different meanings with Sungnyemun, such as the problems in national economy that made Ch'ae Chong-gi set fire to the gate or the shortages in heritage management and funds allocation. The colonial history of the gate was also brought back to light, just as in 1996 and 2005, with insistence on the negative significance of Sungnyemun embodying

a dark past. As Graham and Howard point out, the meaning of heritage depends on the lenses through which it is viewed and interpreted (Graham and Howard 2008, 2), here the most obvious one being the understanding of national history and the emotional response to it. For some, Sungnyemun remains a precious remnant of the past whose historical value has not changed despite being partly destroyed by fire or despite being a reminder of the damage done by the colonial authorities. For others, these are arguments in favor of replacing *kukpo* no. 1 with something more authentic, meaningful and free from negative associations. This shows that the concept of heritage is not devoid of tensions and conflicts, because different social groups relate to the same heritage in various, sometimes clashing ways (Howard 2003, 17-18).

However, CHA has showed no intention to change national treasure no. 1; on the contrary, over the past 4 years, since the arson incident, it has spent a lot of resources and time for the restoration of Sungnyemun. CHA seems to agree with those who believe that even painful history is part of the national history and therefore it should be properly represented through heritage. The colonial interpretation of Sungnyemun as a victory gate of the Japanese military forces doesn't diminish the site's value.

In a public debate that took place soon after the incident, on February 28, 2008, professor Song To-yŏng argued that the press and the citizens have been too focused on issues that are missing the main point, which is, the prevention of any reoccurrences of such devastating gestures. He draws attention to the fact that more relevant issues ought to be discussed: should people pay more taxes for the benefit of heritage, should more employees be hired for management, should they change the law related to heritage? Sungnyemun should remain a historical site because it reminds people of the problems in Korean society and economy, such as the problem that drove the arsonist to destroy the gate. However, the gate should not be rebuilt before these problems (the heritage management system, the legislation) are solved and measures enacted. (Ch'amyŏ yŏndae 2008, 350)

Whether these problems have been solved it remains to be seen. CHA has gone to great lengths to restore Sungnyemun to its former shape, based on the existing sketches. The restoration plan was designed in several stages: historical investigation, excavation and overall plan (2008); consolidation of the foundation (2009); restoration of the wooden structure (2010-2012). Interestingly, in a 2011 CHA report on the evolution of the project, Kim Yŏng-wŏn, director of the National Research Institute of Cultural Properties, seems to emphasize the positive outcome of the destruction of Sungnyemun: the excavation of the site has brought to light new pieces of information on the surroundings of the gate, beginning with early Chosŏn, and the architectural changes it underwent. This seems to suggest that such things would have been left unknown, had it not been for the destruction of Sungnyemun. Oddly enough, the 21st century wooden structure that is being reconstructed is going to be the nucleus of the restoration of old capital Hanyang. (Munhwajaech'ŏng 2011, 3) But CHA should be mindful of how it conveys the new meaning of Sungnyemun after restoration. Is it going to be presented as a Chosŏn dynasty site or as a combination

of old stonework (the base) and new wooden structure? According to Ascensión Hernández Martínez, "it is necessary to respect the principle of visual distinction (the intervention should be easily recognizable so as not to give a false impression of the history of the monument and imply that it is only from one historical epoch)". (Martínez 2008, 256)

Conclusion

CHA has presented Sungnyemun as a 600-year old symbol embodying the history of Seoul, and it has been accepted by many as a landmark in the city. However, its history is made not only of glorious moments, but also of painful events from the colonial era, whose remembrance causes bitter and subversive feelings for some people. The contestation of the meaningfulness and representativeness of Sungnyemun has manifested in the controversies related to which heritage item should be national treasure no. 1. It is very suggestive that the controversy emerged more than once, as people keep questioning what is authentic national value and, moreover, what is representative for the national culture and history. Each time, CHA has intervened and took the final decision not to replace Sungnyemun as *kukpo* no. 1, manifesting itself as the guardian and ruler of the meaning of heritage. Looking at the arguments discussed in the debate, it is very clear that some people – citizens, academics, specialists – contest the decisions, practices and judgments of the CHA, however the office is the one authority that finally makes a decision on how a piece of heritage should be designated, defined, explained, presented and communicated to the public. Although trying to acknowledge the voices of contestation, CHA ultimately owns control over the meaning of heritage. And although people invest very different values in cultural properties, both positive and negative, CHA assumes the role of conveying a dominant narrative on the meaning and value of heritage.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ch'amyŏ yŏndae Ch'amyŏ sahwe yŏnguso (People's Solidarity for Participatory Democracy Research Institute). 2008. "Sungnyemun, Hanguk sahwe e marŭl kŏlta" ("Sungnyemun speaks to Korean society"), *Shimingwa segye* (13), 346-364.

Graham, Brian, and Peter Howard, eds. 2008. *The Ashgate Research Companion to Heritage and Identity*. London: Ashgate.

Howard, Peter. 2003. *Heritage. Management, Interpretation, Identity*. London: Continuum.

Kim, Dong-uk. 2005. "Kŏnch'uk yusan ŭi pojon – kŏrŏon kil, kayahal kil" ("Conservation of Architectural Heritages - Reconsideration of Past and Prospect"). *Kŏnch'ukche*, Volume 49 No. 12, 18-21.

Kim, Wŏn. 2012. "'Hangukchŏgin kŏt' ae chŏn'yu rŭl tullŏssan kyŏngjaeng – minjok chunghŭng, naejaejŏk palchŏn kŭrigo taejung munhwa ae hŭnjŏk" ("The Competition Concerning Appropriation of 'Things Korean': Revival of Nation, Theory of Indigenous Development and Trace of Popular Culture"). *Sahwoe wa yŏksa*. Vol. 93: 185-235.

Kungnip munhwajae yŏnguso (National Research Institute of Cultural Properties). 2008. *Sungnyemun (Sungnyemun hwajae p'ihae hyŏnhwang mit susŭp pogosŏ)* ("Sungnyemun. Report on the Present State and Management of Sungnyemun after Destruction by Fire"). CHA Report.

Martínez, Ascensión Hernández. 2008. "Conservation and Restoration in Built Heritage: A Western European Perspective". In *The Ashgate Research Companion to Heritage and Identity*, eds. Brian Graham and Peter Howard, 245-266. London: Ashgate.

Munhwajae Kwalliguk (Office of Cultural Properties). 1996. *Ilche chijŏng munhwajae chaep'yŏngga kyŏlgwa pogo*. OCP Report.

Munhwajaech'ŏng (Cultural Heritage Administration). 2011. *Sungnyemun palgul chosa pogosŏ (2008-2010 nyŏn palgul chosa chiyŏk)* ("Sungnyemun Excavation Report. Excavation of 2008-2010"). CHA Report.

Pai, Hyung Il. 1999. "Nationalism and preserving Korea's buried past: the Office of Cultural Properties and archaeological heritage management in South Korea". *Antiquity*, Volume 73 No. 281: 619-625.

---. 2000. *Constructing "Korean Origins": Archaeology, Historiography, and Racial Myth.* Harvard University Press.

---. 2001. "The Creation of National Treasures and Monuments: The 1916 Japanese Laws on the Preservation of Korean Remains and Relics and Their Colonial Legacies". *Korean Studies*, Volume 25, Number 1: 72-95.

Park, Sang Mi. 2010. "The Paradox of Postcolonial Korean Nationalism: State-Sponsored Cultural Policy in South Korea, 1965–Present". *The Journal of Korean Studies* 15, no. 1: 67–94.

Sørensen, Marie Louise Stig, and John Carman, eds. 2009. *Heritage Studies: Methods and Approaches*. London and New York: Routledge.

Yim, Hak Soon. 2012. "Pak Chŏng Hŭi Taet'ongnyŏng ae munhwa chŏngch'aek insik yŏn'gu - Pak Chŏng Hŭi Taet'ongnyŏng ae yŏnsŏlmun punsŏk ŭl chungsimŭro" ("Ex-president Park Chung-hee's Awareness of the Cultural Policy"). *Yesul kyŏng'yŏng yŏn'gu*. Vol. 21: 159-182.

Yim, Hansoo. 2002. "Cultural Identity and Cultural Policy in South Korea". *The International Journal of Cultural Policy*, Vol. 8 (1): 37–48.

STUDIA UBB PHILOLOGIA, LVIII, 1, 2013, p. 197 - 202
(RECOMMENDED CITATION)

OPERATING MECHANISM AND SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT OF CI IN THE VISION OF COMPARATIVE EDUCATION

FENG SHAOZHONG[1], YE LANTAO[2]

ABSTRACT. ***Operating mechanism and sustainable development of CI in the Vision of Comparative Education***. Confucius Institute (hereinafter referred to CI) as a platform has been recognized by more and more people for the implementation of Chinese culture "going out" policy. The rapid development of CI has greatly improved not only Chinese as a foreign language but also China's international image and status in the world. Meanwhile, the increasing numbers of the CIs has encountered some problems in the past years and the CI also is facing some challenges. How to integrate Chinese effectively into local high school and university education system; how to develop and stabilize a number of professional directors and the international Chinese teaching team; It seems very crucial to find the solution for the problems in order to ensure the sustainable and healthy development for CI. This article is trying to give some constructive suggestions for fixing the problems based on the experiences of CI at Romania Babes-Bolyai University. It helps to improve the systematic construction of the sustainable development of the CI, consolidating the world well-known platform for CI as the window of Chinese culture, promoting world multi-cultural development and to build a harmonious world.

Keywords: Confucius Institute (CI); sustainable development; Comparative Education; Chinese cultural production

REZUMAT. ***Mecanisme de funcționare și dezvoltare de durată a IC din perspectiva educației comparative.*** Ca platformă, Institutul Confucius (la care din acest moment se va face referire prin IC) a fost recunoscut de un număr din ce în ce mai mare de oameni pentru implementarea tendinței de „expansiune" a culturii chineze. Dezvoltarea rapidă a IC a îmbunătățit dramatic nu doar statutul chinezei ca limbă străină, dar și imaginea internațională a Chinei, respectiv statutul acesteia în cadrul internațional.

[1] **Feng Shaozhong** is the Associate professor (MA) of International school in Zhejiang University of Science Technology, Hangzhou, China. She has been the Chinese director of the Confucius Institute of Babes-Bolyai University of Cluj-Napoca in Romania since Sep 2009. Recent Published Articles and Books included: English and American Literature Teaching Based on the Blog: Perspective of Ecology, Journal of Southern Vocational Education, 2011(5) Vol. 1; Books: Chinese Language – daily conversation, Presa Universitara Cluj, Romania and Zhejiang Publishing House, China, 2010; The Art of Chinese Calligraphy, Guidance regarding the writing of Chinese Characters, Presa Universitara Cluj, Romania and Zhejiang Publishing House, China, 2010. E-mail: feng.elena@yahoo.com.

[2] **Ye Lantao** is a lecturer of Guangdong Ocean University. His major is Chinese modern and contemporary literature. From 2011.10~2012.08 , He worked at the Confucius Institute of Babes-Bolyai university as a Chinese teacher.

Între timp, numărul în creştere a IC a întâlnit unele probleme în ultimii ani, iar IC în sine se confruntă cu diverse provocări, ca spre exemplu: cum să integreze eficient limba chineză în curicula liceelor şi a universităţilor locale; cum să creeze şi să menţină o serie de directori de profesie şi echipa internaţională care predă limba chineză, găsirea unei soluţii pentru toate aceste probleme părând crucială pentru a asigura dezvoltarea sănătoasă şi de durată a IC. Acest articol încearcă să ofere câteva sugestii constructive pentru rezolvarea problemelor, bazate pe experienţele IC în cadrul Universităţii Babeş- Bolyai din România. Se impune, astfel, să fie perfecţionată construcţia sistematică a unei dezvoltări de durată a IC, să fie consolidată platforma recunoscută la nivel mondial pentru IC ca fereastră pentru cultura chineză, să fie promovate dezvoltarea multiculturală la nivel mondial şi construirea unei lumi armonioase.

Cuvinte-cheie: Institutul Confucius (IC); dezvoltare durabilă; educaţie comparativă; producţia culturală chineză

Since 2004, the first CI was set up in Korea, it developed rapidly in recent years. There are 400 CIs and more than 500 Confucius Classrooms in 108 countries around the world. It can be said that CI has played a crucial role in the implementation of Chinese cultural strategy "Going out". People of some countries have negatives viewpoints to China which constantly improved and enhanced through the joint efforts of teachers in CI around the world who practiced teaching activities and cultural preaching. The successful operation of CI really played skillfully deflected; it is also the reasons why the CI can get the unanimous endorsement of domestic and foreign media or the public. Moreover, CI cooperated with local educational agency, implement the principle " Five unification" (that is "unified name", "unified nameplate", "unified constitution ", "unified management "," unified Examination ") (1) This is also unlike other similar international cultural institutions, such as the British Council, France Alliance, Goethe Institute, Cervantes Institute , which promoted international cultural career with new paradigms and approaches.

On the terms of current construction, CIs have passed scale-layout period, it shall enter the period of stable construction and sustainable development stage. It means that we should end up the "Extensive" management and supplement meticulous management in current time. CI made a series of achievements also exposed many problems. One hand these problems have external factors, on the other hand, it is also related to its internal management. This paper put forward some constructive suggestions for two aspects of external construction and internal management, taking CI in Babes Bolyai University Romania as an example, for sustainable development of the CI in the future.

(1) The external construction of CI: Eliminating the official and unofficial suspicion and resentment to CI, striving for the supports in multi-channel of financial and media assistance, integrated Chinese into local education system for high schools and universities effectively.

CI has a special nature for their schools, belonging to local school in the host country. Thus opinion of the public is the key to its ability of sustainable development. CI is a non-profit educational institution which is promoted by Hanban. In fact, different countries to the new phenomenon are a mixed reaction. Some countries have positive media campaign such as some European countries: Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Romania and other countries. (2) the reviews in the United States showed the wavy trend, along with the sudden number increase of CI, Beijing Olympic Games in 2008 and other factors (3) In Asia, India and Islamic countries regard Confucius as Confucianism, resulting in. the development of CI in these countries didn't going well, some countries which maintain friendly relations with China, such as Thailand in Asia and Romania in Europe and other countries, the situation is gratifying. (4) Because of different response ,to make the development level and prospects of CIs is different, positive evaluation of CI focus on that CI can show Chinese traditional culture and carry out language exchange, the negative evaluations focus on that CIs are ideological propaganda to the world , acting as the tools of the philosophy of communism.

It should be said that CI makes foreign students start to like Chinese, implanting Chinese culture more deeply into the Western people's daily life. It is distributed widely in United States, Europe and other key countries and regions. Through the wisdom and hard working of Chinese teachers and volunteers, it was a very significant effect to eliminate the misunderstanding and hatred to China from ordinary people due to the propaganda of the mainstream media. (5) The facts proved that the world understand China more, more foreign media and the public can put themselves into Chinese point, and think about Chinese current domestic and foreign political and foreign policy in somehow Chinese perspective.

Not only the development of CI needs the necessary support from domestic and international public medium, but also diversification of funding sources is very important. Diversified funding channels are vital for eliminating the bias to CI as government it also can reduce government financial pressure, and format a virtuous cycle. "Industrial Management + fund contributions + Hanban project", it will be favorable to the sustainable development to CI. (6) The project funds from Hanban have played a key role in the daily operation of CI, but it still has some certain risk. Therefore appropriate fee for the language and culture course is an important direction to the internal management of CI. Although it is impossible to cover all project expenditures of CI, but played a very important role in the maintenance of daily consumption of CI and improve CI teaching conditions.

Fund contributions mainly existed in United States. Fund contribution can't be applicable to all CIs in the world; it is relevant to the financial situations and donating cultures in the countries. Undeniably, the leader of Hanban tried a lot of effective attempt in it. Recently Xu Lin, the director of Hanban accepted the interview of Xinhua website. In that interview, she talked that she met with former Hong Kong Chief Executive Dong Jianhua in November 10, 2011; they have talked about how to gather Chinese forces around the world, especially the power of the overseas

Chinese supports to develop CIs. It should be said the Director Xu Lin attempt effectively to change the management and operation mode of CI. (7) In addition, CI can also rely on local government agencies, large enterprises and Chinese associations organized jointly a series of activities to promote Chinese culture and provide various forms of sponsorship for CI to carry out many kinds of competitions, such as providing the venue, prizes, etc.; and also solve traffic problems which existed in most CI. Communicate actively with international outreach in local county and city governments, collaborating with other cultural center to organize cultural promotion activities, not only saving the project expenses, also enlarging the influence of CI. It is also a form of fund contributions.

It is essential for CI's language integrated into effectively the areas of primary, secondary and university education system in the host country; it will have widely disseminated and radiant effects. European universities have greater autonomy and flexibility in the teaching curriculum which CI can take the advantage of it, actively coordinate with the partner university as the starting point for cooperation; So far, CI of Babes-Bolyai University (hereinafter referred to CI) provided the Chinese as a second language course for the students in UBB with elective credit courses which integrated Chinese culture activities into Chinese language teaching. Concerning setting up the Chinese language and culture courses in primary and secondary schools, it should be propelled gradually. Taking CI of UBB Cluj-napoca Romania as an example, CI first open two courses in high schools about Chinese civilization and culture with well-designed curricula, paying more attention to collecting the relevant data and student's feedbacks, and allow principals and teachers to summarize the feedback of students in the experimental class and the school which opened this course, then communicate with the Inspectorate of Cluj County to get their official support to expand the size of the primary and secondary school teaching point for Chinese learning. Chinese language teaching integrated into local education system is a powerful measure. It will help students focus on Chinese language learning, more initiative to use more time to learn Chinese, Chinese language learning will be significantly improved. This promoting mode of Chinese language teaching will get rid of the embarrassing situation: slow effect which CI always faces for a long time concerning the foreigner's Chinese proficiency level.

(2) Internal management of the CI: the internal management of CI has entered into the "meticulous" stage. Training a professional management team and stabilize a number of capable Directors is important. Carrying out the language and the cultural activities, the construction and improvement of the evaluation system of CI is to ensure that the CI with sustainable development.

The CI is currently under the leadership of the Council of Board of directors, the director is responsible for the daily operation and management of CI, the selection and appointment of Chinese and foreign directors is the basis of the CI to engage in healthy operation. Due to the differences management philosophy of the Chinese and foreign directors and cultural background, it is inevitable that different opinions on the arrangements for the operation of the CI on teaching Chinese and promoting the cultural activities. Therefore, building a team of full-time qualified directors is essential to

establish an effective incentive system and the strict selection system of the Chinese and foreign directors, holding regularly training for them, Providing various management case analysis will help to shorten the run-in period of the Chinese and foreign directors and speed up the CI to enter the track of healthy development.

The development and growth of CI cannot be separated from Chinese teachers and volunteers; we need professional team of teachers with well versed in international Chinese teaching skills and build up complete selection and evaluation system. First, teachers should be proficient in the local language or English, it is an important means of communication between the teachers and students, foreign language skills and the methodology for teachers will hold a dominant position in Chinese teaching for foreign students. If there are communication barriers between teacher and the students, teaching methods didn't suit to the needs of teaching objects which will cause the students loss. Assessment system for teachers and volunteers should connect with the teacher's salary and the feedback for the work unit where the teacher dispatched, so it can avoid a few teachers and volunteers who worked in CI with the purposes of making a tour abroad. At the same time, for the teachers who are responsible for their jobs and are popular among the students should be given the award.

Language teaching in most CI is part of the cultural introduction. Language learning and the understanding of the culture can't be separated. The outline of the curriculum should be composed by some cultural syllabus which involves many aspects such as the location, personal lifestyle, people and society, history, philosophy, systems, art, music, etc. (8) During formulating the cultural syllabus, it should be set to an open outline, the cultural introduction should satisfy the students' needs: one is the basic introduction of the cross-cultural communication which refers to the cultural shock for the second language learner when they do the communication with foreigners; the other is for fitting the needs of different individuals."(9)

The formulation of the cultural outline should be different according to different teaching objects in different regions and for the different target students. For example, students from Asia, such as in Japan or South Korea, the culture introduction can focus on Chinese history and social studies. For European and American students, it can focus on geography, philosophy, Chinese arts and Chinese music. In the process of introducing the Chinese culture, it should be avoided over-exaggerate artificially cultural differences, intentionally distorted cultural facts to meet the students' adventures psychology.

Meanwhile, CI should establish a sound assessment system which the criteria are set up for the CI in different regions. The establishment of the assessment system of CI is still in its infancy, we can only see some regulations of doing self-assessment issued by Hanban which is not suitable for every CI all over the world due to different location. Compared with the CI, the France Alliance which is earlier than the international promotion of Chinese has more stringent quality assurance system. For example, they manage and supervise through professional Committee (ADCUEFE,) and develop the framework through "Common reference frame for European language learning" and ensure the quality through strict quality assessment system. (10) At present, domestic assessment research on the Chinese Language Teaching as the second

language is not carrying out amply, there are a few articles related to the research of CI teaching assessment. "The research for CI evaluation system," published by Wu Yinghui mentioned about some criteria considering from different objects. The evaluation system is divided into 10 indicators and 52 secondary indicators. Assess ten areas from the guiding ideology, the degree of harmony, management mechanism, and school conditions. (11) Of course, differences can be worked out due to the area; the different evaluation indicators can establish the assessment system for the survival of the fittest mechanism. In the future, the CI should regularly assess the implementation of dynamic regulation of the CI; the CI in poor management should be given a warning and even shut down after the evaluation by Hanban. It is the efficient way to guide the CI to the way of keeping its development sustainably.

The sustainable development of CI is involved many aspects, here we only sort out two aspects for the external management and internal management of setting up the management mechanism of CI. It is a systematic project for the recognition by the public domestic and abroad for CI's image as Chinese Culture.

REFERENCES

(1) Liu Hanjun Weng Huainan: CI, a successful example as Chinese culture ,"going out" - visiting Xu Lin, the State Department counselor, Director of Hanban, General Director of CI Headquarters , published in "*Party Building*", 2011 (11): 53
(2) Director Xu Lin was awarded the French academic Palm Medal on April 6, 2012
(3) Li Kaisheng, Dai Changzheng: Environmental Assessment of CI in the United States, World Economics and Politics, 2011 (7): 76
(4) Lin Huadong, Wu Duanyang: Sustainable Development of CI at the Southeast Asian, Quanzhou Normal University, 2011 (5): 5
(5) August 26, 2009, Confucius Classroom in Cedarlane Middle School of Hacienda School District, was opposed by former School District Education Director John Kramer and his people. The result of the conflict is that School District Board of Education decided to set up the Confucius Classroom as usual, but not sponsored by Hanban.
(6) Wu Ying-hui, "Types of business model and sustainable development of CI" China Higher Education Research, 2010 (2): 32
(7) 2010-11-10, http://www.xinhuanet.com/video/zhibo/whdjt20111110a/wz.htm
(8) Sterm.HH "issues and options in language teaching", Chinese Learning, 2009 (5): 97
(9) Zhang Ying: "Basic research of cultural outline for foreign language" language learning, 2009 (5): 99
(10) Lei Fei. Security Strategy of the quality for French as a foreign language, Education journal, 2011 (2): 56
(11) Wu Yinghui, The research for evaluation system of CI, Educational Research, 2011 (8): 32

STUDIA UBB PHILOLOGIA, LVIII, 1, 2013, p. 203 - 219
(RECOMMENDED CITATION)

THE WAR WITHIN: MOTIVATIONS FOR WRITING DURING THE KOREAN WAR (1950-1953)

JERÔME DE WIT[1]

ABSTRACT. ***The War Within: Motivations for Writing during the Korean War (1950-1953).*** Already before the outbreak of the Korean War, a narrowly defined anti-communist paradigm had been created within South Korean society, mainly due to the numerous popular uprisings it had to cope with within its own borders. Many people within society were seen with suspicion. The dramatic shifts in the frontline during the early months of the war brought extra jeopardy, particularly for the population of Seoul who remained under communist rule for three months. Many writers who had not been able to flee were accused of pro-communist activities and had to fear reprisals when the South Korean army returned. One way to escape punishment and to shift suspicion away from oneself was to make it clear that you were an anti-communist through one's writings, or by joining one of the government funded war writers organisations. Considering the volatile anti-communist atmosphere in South Korean society and the developments early on in the Korean War it can be seen that for many writers, writing propaganda for their government became a necessity in order to redeem oneself, or to remove any doubts on being in any way favorable to the communist ideology.

Keywords: Korean War, writers and war, anti-communism in South Korea, war collaboration

REZUMAT. ***Războiul dinăuntru: motivații pentru a scrie în timpul Războiului Coreean (1950-1953).*** Încă înainte de începerea Războiului Coreean, o paradigmă anticomunistă strict definită fusese deja creată în societatea sud-coreeană, mai ales datorită numeroaselor revolte populare care avuseseră loc în sânul ei. Mulți oameni din societate erau priviți cu suspiciune. Mutările dramatice de graniță în primele luni ale războiului au adus pericole suplimentare mai cu seamă pentru populația din Seoul, care s-a aflat sub ocupație comunistă timp de trei luni. Mulți scriitori care nu s-au putut refugia au fost acuzați de activități pro-comuniste și s-au temut de represalii când armata sud-coreeană s-a întors. O modalitate de a scăpa de pedeapsă și de a îndepărta suspiciunile a fost afirmarea clară a atitudinii anticomuniste prin intermediul operelor sau prin înscrierea într-una din organizațiile de scriitori de război, sponsorizate de către guvern. Având în vedere atmosfera anticomunistă volatilă din societatea sud-coreeană și evenimentele de la începutul Războiului Coreean, se poate vedea că, pentru mulți scriitori, a scrie propagandă pentru propriul guvern a devenit o necesitate pentru a se salva sau pentru a îndepărta orice îndoieli legate de atitudinea favorabilă ideologiei comuniste.

Cuvinte-cheie: Războiul Coreean, scriitori și război, anticomunism în Coreea de Sud, colaborare în timpul războiului

[1] PhD candidate at Leiden University. His dissertation deals with how North and South Korean writers experienced and perceived the Korean War. E-mail: j.w.a.de.wit@hum.leidenuniv.nl.

Introduction

The first few months of the Korean War, which broke out on the 25th of June 1950, saw dramatic shifts in the frontline. Initially the North Korean army advanced rapidly and without much resistance from the South Korean army, until their advance was halted by American troops, who had quickly decided to intervene on behalf of the South with permission of the UN. A decisive breakthrough at the so called Naktong (Pusan) perimeter could not be forced, and with the rapid buildup of troops, the UN army soon launched a counter offensive in September 1950, which in turn drove the North Korean army back without any meaningful resistance. Now it was the UN army's turn to advance deep into North Korean territory, some units even arriving at the Chinese-Korean border at the end of October. Because of these dramatic shifts in the frontline at the beginning of the Korean War, the majority of the Korean population had to endure the rule of both the North and South Korean occupier. During this initial phase, many citizens were forced to choose to support a specific regime, but also turned this "choice" around completely once the occupying regime changed. Each time the new occupier moved in, the authorities aggressively searched for 'reactionary elements'. In the atmosphere of mutual distrust these chaotic turnarounds created, even the slightest suspicion or accusation by friends or neighbours could have dire consequences that could lead to imprisonment or summary executions.

North and South Korean writers too were caught up in the maelstrom of these early events and they presented them with obvious dangers. Poet Yi Haemun was executed by North Korea, while the young poet Yu Chino suffered the same fate at the hands of the South Korean government.[2] Others were forcefully taken and never heard of again, like Yi Kwangsu, Pak Yŏnghŭi, Kim Ŏk and Kim Tonghwan.[3]

Genuine life and death choices had to be made by writers, and several chose to permanently cross over to the other regime. Pak Ch'anmo, Yi Tonggyu, Yi Pyŏngch'ŏl and several others decided to move North, while Kim Yisŏk, Pak Namsu, Wŏn Ŭngsŏ and Yang Myŏngmun among others went the opposite direction.[4]

[2] Yu Chino (1922-1950) was sympathetic to the communist ideology and is famous for reciting his poem *For whom is our youthful heart filled?*(Nugu-rŭl wihan pŏkch'anŭn uri-ŭi chŏlmŭninya?) in front of a large crowd, for which he was imprisoned in 1946. After his release he joined a partisan group in the Chiri mountains, but was caught in March 1949. The death sentence he received was commuted to life imprisonment. At the start of the Korean War, however, he was most likely executed by the South Korean government.

[3] Novelist Yi Kwangsu (1892-1950) is regarded as the first modern Korean novelist. Poet Pak Yŏnghŭi (1901-?) was president of the left-wing KAPF group in the early 1930s, and was an active figure during the last part of the Japanese colonial period. Kim Ŏk (1896-?) was a poet who translated many foreign poems into the Korean language. Kim Tonghwan (1901-?) was also a poet most active during the end of the colonial period, managing the pro-Japanese magazine *Korean literature* (Samch'ŏlli munhak).

[4] Writer Pak Ch'anmo, poet Yi Tonggyu (1913-1950) and poet Yi Pyŏngch'ŏl all became immediately involved in North Korean literature upon their arrival although their status was quickly relegated to less important roles near the end of the war. Writer Kim Yisŏk (1914-1964) was active during the war and became the editor of the literary magazine *Literary arts* (Munhak yesul) in 1954. Pak Namsu (1918-1994) also was co-editor of the Literary Arts magazine and *The world of thought* (Sasangye). He made his debut in 1939 in the magazine *Literary Writings* (Munchang). Wŏn Ŭngsŏ (1914-1973) was foremost a translator of foreign literature, while poet Yang Myŏngmun (1913-1985) wrote numerous poems as well as a book on the influence of the Korean War on Korean poetry.

As the frontline stabilized in spring 1951, war writer organisations were set up that were under the aegis of the army or the authorities. In the South these were the Blue Sky Group (Ch'angkong kurakbu), which was part of the Air Force, the Army War Writers Group (Yukkun chonggun chakkadan), and the Navy War Writers Group (Haegun chonggun chakkadan). In the North the main vehicle for propaganda literature dissemination was the Korean Federation of Literature and Arts (Chosŏn munhakyesul ch'ongdongmaeng). The writers who joined one of these organisations were expected to write favorably about the troops and to instill the population with a will to persevere and fight. In this paper I focus specifically on the Korean authors who wrote anti-communist propaganda literature and am interested in the question as to what social factors were involved for them to join one of the war writer groups.

Judging from the recollections of some of the writers who had actively participated in one of the organisations, one gets the impression that there were two main reasons as to why the writers joined a government-funded organization during the war. Either they joined because the government would provide them with food, making life in the war-torn country much easier, or they chose to join out of a genuine feeling of patriotism. This first motivation is obvious. In the South most wartime refugees were packed together in the cities of Taegu and Pusan and had a hard time to make ends meet. With severe paper shortages and the skills of writers in short demand, it was difficult for writers to sustain themselves in their livelihood. One positive factor in favor of the writers, however, was the dominant definition of modern wars as total wars among intellectuals, policy makers and army officers in Korean society.[5] This idea had been propagated extensively during the final eight years of the colonial period by the Japanese, and still had a large sway over the minds of the people in power in society.[6] Explanation of modern war, and thus also the Korean war as a total war meant that next to the military side, equal importance was given to the so-called "thought war" in order to maintain a high morale among both soldiers and non-belligerents in society. Propaganda was therefore seen as an important means to pursue this goal, and this created an opportunity for writers to make themselves useful. Indeed the vast majority of essays written during the war period explained the role of the writer and the function of literature in these terms.[7] By joining one of the organisations, and by writing one's literary works in a way that it catered to the demands of the state or the army, the writers had a better chance to get their

[5] For more information on the opinions of policy makers and writers on the Korean War as a total war, I refer to my article "The Dilemmas of Nationalism during Civil War", *Korean Histories* 2.2, (December 2010).

[6] Many essays appeared during the war that show this dominant attitude towards war. For example, Yi Sŏnkŭn, "The victory of ideology" (Inyŏm-ŭi sŭngni), *Literature* (Munye), 1950.12, or Park Yŏngchun, "Soldiers and politics" (Kunin-gwa chŏngch'i), *Frontline literature* (Chŏnsŏn munhak), 1952.12.

[7] Opinions of writers on the role of the writer during war are Yi Muyŏng, "War and literature (Chŏnchaeng-gwa munhak), *Frontline literature* 5 (May 1952), pp. 4-8, Yi Hŏn-gu, "Love for mankind and compatriots" (Inryuae-wa dongchokae), *Reader of wartime literature* (Chŏnshi munhak tokbon), 1951, and Ch'oe Sangdŏk, "Foreword" (Ch'angkansa), *Frontline literature*, 1951.4 among others.

works published and thereby earn a living. Female author Ch'oe Chŏnghŭi, whose husband poet Kim Tonghwan had been taken North during Seoul's occupation, joined the Blue Sky Group, and later remarked that by joining this organization she was provided with an army uniform, shoes, silk and rice.[8] She remembered that the rice that she was given was more than sufficient for herself, so that she could give some of what she had received to refugees in need. By joining one of the war writer organisations, therefore, the writers were provided with enough basic commodities to sustain themselves.

Writer Pak Yŏngjun reminisced in the magazine *The Army* (Yukkun) from 1964, that it was especially the writers' patriotism that lead them to write propaganda: "Since the supreme task of the country was to attain victory, it went without saying that for a complete victory the whole capacity of the civilian population had to be mustered. In order to do so, the population had to be instilled with a will to fight. Therefore the writers had to make it their fulltime job to show their abilities to whip up this fighting spirit. You can see this as an inevitable development, but **for the writers who loved their state it was an inward calling that emerged of their own accord**.(emphasis mine)"[9] Pak's words make it seem as if all writers who decided to join one of the war writer organisations did so out of a genuine desire to help their country. Indeed, if one was to judge the motivation of the writers from the many essays from the war period itself, this seems to be the case. The poet Ku Sang, for example, poetically exclaimed that writers "serve the freedom of the fatherland before the freedom of their 'pens' and will find the glory of their 'brush' in the face of the glory of humanity and the fatherland."[10] Though there were undoubtedly writers during the Korean war who were driven by genuine patriotism and belief in one of the regime's political system, I believe that such a view ignores the complicated social conditions in which the writers found themselves, both during and before the war.[11]

Already before the war, after the establishment of the South Korean state on August 15th, 1948 and the suppression of the Yŏsu rebellion in October of the same year, it was becoming more difficult for South Korean writers not to get involved in the anti-communist activities that were demanded by the government.[12] Writers who had earlier openly showed allegiance to the communist ideology by participating

[8] Ch'oe Chŏnghŭi, "The refugee writers in Taegu" (P'inan Taegu munin), *Twenty years of liberation literature* (Haebang munhak 20 nyŏn), (Seoul: Chŏngŭmsa, 1966), p. 103.

[9] Shin Yŏngdŏk, *War writers and the Korean War* (Hanguk chŏnjaeng-gwa chonggunchakka), (Seoul: Kukhakcharyowŏn, 2002), p. 32.

[10] Ku Sang, "Two years of war writer groups" (Chongkunchakkadan 2 nyŏn), *Frontline literature* 5 (May 1953): p. 59.

[11] Poets who can be considered as genuinely patriotic in their conviction to write for the South Korean regime are Kim Kwangsŏp (1905-1977) and Mo Yunsuk (1910-1990) as they held important social and political positions at the time. Kim Kwangsŏp, for example, worked for the presidential secretariat of Syngman Rhee during the war.

[12] The Yŏsu rebellion occurred on October 19, 1948 when the 14th division refused their orders of suppressing the Cheju-do uprising.

in left wing writer organisations such as the Writers League (Munhakka tongmaeng) were indicted and imprisoned. Yi Yongak, who was a leading figure in this organization soon found himself in prison for his activities, as did Yi Pyŏngch'ŏl who had taken over control after Yi Yongak's imprisonment.[13] Others like Im Hwa, Kim Namch'ŏn and Yi T'aejun escaped from a similar fate by making the decision to move to the North before they would get arrested.[14]

Writing and publishing became more controlled and restricted with the implementation of a "prohibition law on writing activities and book sales" in November 1949. From now on every writing and publication needed to be checked by censors before they were allowed to appear in print. In this month, campaigns were also started against writers with leftist leaning sympathies to urge them to report themselves to the authorities, or to join the National Rehabiliation and Guidance League (Kungmin podoyŏnmaeng). This pursuit of leftist leaning elements in South Korean society was pursued nation-wide. The *Chosŏn ilbo* of December 2, 1949, reported that of the 52,082 people who had joined the Guidance League, ninety-four of them were writers, the newspaper identifying Chŏng Chiyong, Hwang Sunwŏn, Ŏm Hŭngsŏp, Yi Ponggu and Im Sŏha among its members.[15] In January 1950, the artists who had joined the Guidance League organized an arts festival where writers such as Yŏm Sangsŏp, Hong Hyomin, Yang Chudong, Im Haksu, Kim Kirim, and Son Sohŭi also appear as members.[16] Poet Chŏng Chiyong described his reason for joining the Guidance League as follows: "I am the poet Chŏng Chiyong, who allegedly crossed the 38th parallel one night. I do not want to look too deeply at where this attack and conspiracy aimed at me came from, but just want to say that I am also a citizen [of this state] and a

[13] Kim Yongchik, *North Korean literature* (Pukhan munhaksa), (Seoul: Ilchisa, 2008), p.93.

[14] These three literary figures were well-known writers during the colonial period, and got prominent positions in North Korean literary circles. Near the end of the war, however, they got caught in the middle of a factional strife and were sentenced to death or hard labor.

[15] Kim Ch'ŏl, "The establishment and development of right-wing Korean literary organisations" (Hanguk bosuuik munye chojik-ŭi hyŏngsŏng-gwa chŏngae) *Practical literature* (Shilch'ŏn munhak), 1990, p. 30. Poet Chŏng Chiyong (1902-1950) was active in the literary world in the late colonial period. During the Korean War he was imprisoned and on his way to the North died during an American bombing raid. Hwang Sunwŏn (1915-2000) was a writer well known for his short stories. His most famous story *Rainburst* (Sonagi) is part of the national South Korean curriculum. Ŏm Hŭngsŏp (1906-?) was a writer and became a prominent literary critic in North Korea when he moved north during the war. Writer Yi Ponggu (1916-1983) became active especially from the liberation period onwards and his novels are known for its anecdotal qualities. Im Sŏha was also active during the liberation period writing short stories. During the war he moved to the north.

[16] Kyŏnghyang Shinmun, January 8, 1950. Yŏm Sangsŏp (1897-1963) was a very influential novelist, known for his realist novels among which *Three generations* (Samdae) is the most famous. Hong Hyomin (1904-1976) was a literary critic and journalist. Yang Chudong (1903-1977) was a poet and literature researcher. Poet Im Haksu (1911-?) moved north during the war and believed that literature should be for the masses. He was purged in 1966., Kim Kirim (1908-?) was a modernist poet who stressed that Korean poetry should contain sentimentalism. Son Sohŭi (1917-1987) was a female writer active during the late colonial period until the late 60s, writing predominantly on the social circumstances of women and cynically on Korea's patriarchal society.

good citizen at that. I have suffered the experience of colonial rule for twenty three years. Because of this rumour that I supposedly went North, my neighbours have brandished me as a commie. Therefore, when I moved to another place, I simultaneously asked for protection from the police, who advised me to join the National Rehabilitation and Guidance League, and this is why I am here today. I will strive in the future to do helpful things for our state."[17] South Korean society was more and more becoming immersed in the search for communist elements in society, and suspicion was easily bestowed on someone, even if it was mere rumour. Even the writers who had moved South before the establishment of the South Korean government were being seen with suspicion, and therefore the month of November 1949 also saw the inauguration of the "*Wollam* Writers club" (*Wollam* meaning 'moved to the South').[18] In their manifesto they explicitly state that they were anti-communist in their stance and endeavors as they "set out to create a new national literature that opposes all anti-democratic literary activities…."[19]

The writers more and more had a tighter space in which they could manoeuvre themselves in. In the atmosphere that was in existence before the war, writers even had to take strategic decisions to either deliberately cut ties with old friends, or forge new alliances with others to take away all suspicion from them of being in any way favorable towards communism. Literary critic Cho Yŏnhyŏn remarks on this: "The strength of the left had already declined and the `Writers League as well existed in name only. Almost all writers who had diligently followed the communist path or writers active in the Writers League were now politically and ideologically converting themselves, except for its most enthusiastic supporters. [….] Since I had no substantial contacts with these writers up to that point, I thought it would be best to establish new contacts with them as well. [….] Part of the extreme right wing powers were still vehemently opposed to these writers and even applied pressure towards me to exclude them from the Munye [Literary Arts] magazine. I was, however, not to be swayed in my belief that in order to enrich our literature we should embrace all of our writers in the motherland's bosom. [….] This is why I started to visit the late Yŏm Sangsŏp regularly and establish ties with Hwang Sunwŏn, Kye Yongmuk, Ch'oe Chŏnghŭi and Hŏ Yunsŏk among others."[20]

Writer Kim Tongni also had a similar opinion as Cho Yŏnhyŏn, sensing clearly the hostile environment in which the writers who were suspected of leftist tendencies found themselves. He recollects that he thought deeply about a way to keep these writers safe. "I was contemplating whether there was not another way to

[17] *Tonga ilbo*, November 5, 1949.

[18] Part of this organization were Hwang Sunwŏn, An Sugil, Kim Kwangju, Ku Sang, Yŏm Sangsŏp, Pak Hwamok, Pak Kyeju, Im Okin, Cho Yŏngam, Chŏng Pisŏk, Hŏ Yunsŏk, Chang Yonghak, Pak Yŏngjun, O Yŏngjin, Pak Yŏnhŭi, Ch'oe Sangdŏk and Ch'oe T'aeŭng among others. All would become very active figures during the Korean War in the various government funded war writer organizations.

[19] *Kyŏnghyang shinmun*, November 24, 1949.

[20] Writer Kye Yongmuk (1904-1961) is best known for his satirical story *Adada the idiot* (Paekch'I Adada). Hŏ Yunsŏk (1914-1995) was a short story writer who wrote more than 100 stories in his career.

solve the issue of the writers who were forced to join or convert to the care of the Guidance League, since this had several severe consequences (since they were regarded as quasi-delinquents). Therefore the so called right-wing writers were looking hard for some counter measure. […] The direct motivation [of the establishment of the Korean Writers Association] was to create an opportunity for the writers who had until then belonged to the Writers League to start anew among fellow writers instead of handing them over to the Guidance League…."

Here Kim Tongni admits that the establishment of the Korea Writers Association on the 9th of December 1949, was set up deliberately to give the writers suspected of leftist leanings a new start so that they would escape punishment by being forced into the Guidance League.[21] To show their alliance to the South Korean state, one of its creeds explicitly stated that they would "contribute genuinely to world peace and the coexistence of mankind and reject all anti-national and anti-state formalism."[22] Here "anti-national" and "anti-state formalism" of course refers to those who are sympathetic towards the communist ideology.

The chaotic early months of the war

These efforts certainly saved many of the suspected writers who were part of the Guidance League to escape death, since members of this organization were specifically targeted by the South Korean authorities at the beginning of the war for summary executions. The pre-war events show that already before war had broken out, the writers consciously had to make it unambiguously clear that they were pursuing anti-communist activities. It also shows that writers were not driven by a desire to "write for the nation" to an equal extent, or out of their own free will. This would be to miss the complicated dynamics and zeitgeist of Korean society that was in existence before the war. The developments of the war at the beginning, with North Korea controlling most of the Korean peninsula until the 15th of September, added more fuel to the fire. When at the start of the war the South Korean government broadcast over the radio that the North Korean army would be driven back, many citizens of Seoul believed in this propaganda. To many people's dismay, however, the North Korean army arrived very swiftly three days after the war had started, and with the bridge over the Han river being hastily blown up to cover the fleeing South Korean army's retreat many were left to be subjected to the three month rule of the North. Writers who remained behind either went into hiding, or joined the reestablished Writers League where they had to write wallpapers, or do other propaganda chores.

When the UN/South Korean army returned on the 28th of September the real struggle of the Seoul citizens was about to start, as the South Korean authorities and other right wing groups quickly started to seek out pro-communist collaborators. This

[21] Most of the South Korean literary scene became a member of this organisation. A full list of its members appears in the *Kyŏnghyang shinmun* of December 14, 1949.
[22] Kim Ch'ol, p. 16.

threatening atmosphere is described by literary critic Paek Ch'ŏl in the following way: "It was not the case that when Seoul was recaptured that the day of peace had arrived as well. […] This was because the liberating authorities treated the citizens of Seoul as second class citizens. Under the pretense of seeking out collaborators there were many scenes of indiscriminate executions. In order to seek some sort of revenge they savagely vented their wrath."[23] This uncomfortable and dangerous time also shines through in the recollections of theatre critic Sŏ Kangsŏk. In his memoir the only real threat and indignity he describes about his time during the North Korean occupation period was that many of his books were confiscated by the authorities. When the South Korean government regained their hold over the city, however, he describes that he for the first time felt genuinely threatened in a physical way when everybody was called up to attend a meeting.[24]

This early stage in the war left a deep impact on South Korean society as a whole and split the country in half between those who managed to cross the Han river and follow the retreating army who were called the Togangp'a (Group who crossed the river) and the Challyup'a (Group of those who remained behind).[25] Cho Yŏnhyŏn remarks on the return of the liberating UN army about this new division within society: "As Seoul was liberated on the 28th of September, the Togangp'a's were strutting around like victorious generals, while the Challyup'a were in very low spirits as if they were people who had sinned. […] This division did not just stop as a general social trend in those days, but permeated every section and every institution in society, and also appeared within the literary field."[26]

On the 4th of October 1950 several governmental joint investigation bureaus were established where the military, police and prosecutors offices worked together to search for and prosecute citizens suspected of collaborating with the enemy.[27] A little more than fifty thousand of Seoul's citizens were being investigated. Most writers who had remained behind in Seoul were also seen to have collaborated since they had joined the Writers League, and were therefore also a target for the authorities. However, according to Cho Yŏnhyŏn, it was not the authorities, but the Togangp'a writers, notably the right wing National Association of Cultural Organizations

[23] Paek Ch'ŏl, *(Continued) Truth and Reality* ((Sok)Chilli-wa hyŏnshil), (Seoul: Pakyŏngsa, 1976), p. 439.
[24] Yi Kibong, *The North's literature and artists* (Puk-ŭi munhak-gwa yesurin) (Seoul: Sachoyŏn, 1986), p. 265.
[25] The impact of which can be seen in such wartime stories as Yŏm Sangsŏp's *The morning of liberation* (Haebang-ui ach'im), *Bicycle* (chachŏnko), *The house search* (Kadaek susaek), and Chang Yonghak's *A torn introduction to ethics*. Stories that came out after the war dealing with these events are Yi Munyŏl's *Time of heroes* (Yŏngung shidae), Pak Wansŏ's *Who ate all the Shinga?* (Kŭ mant'ŏn shinga-nŭn nu-ga ta mŏgŏssŭlkka), Kim Wŏnil's *The celebration of fire* (pur-ŭi chechŏn) and Im Ch'ŏru's *The sound of the wind in our backs* (twian-e paramsori).
[26] Cho Yŏnhyŏn, *The Korean writers of my time* (Nae-ga saraon hanguk muntan) (Seoul: Yŏmunsa, 1977), pp. 278-279. This social division ran so deep that a political party was established called the Free Challyu party (Chayu challyudang) who even won seats in the wartime elections.
[27] Before the establishment of this institution several civilian private groups had already started to mete out reprisal killings, which led to the announcement of a prohibition on death sentencing promulgated on the 1st of December 1950.

(hereafter NACO), who had already taken charge of the issue of how to deal with these collaborator writers.[28] "Right after the recapture of Seoul a pamphlet appeared in a magazine with a list of pro-communist collaborating literary people. This list had been published by members of the NACO in Pusan. On this list every person from the Challyup'a was earmarked as being a collaborator, with the exception of people like Pak Chonghwa, Kim Tongni, Ch'oe Chŏnghŭi and Cho Yŏnhyŏn."[29] The magazine that Cho Yŏnhyŏn is referring to is *Frontline Literature: Literature Wartime Edition* [Chŏnsŏn munhak: munhak chŏnshipan] that was published in October 1950. According to the magazine, the names that appear on the list that was published, came about after deliberation during a special meeting of the NACO on the 10th of August in order to "investigate which collaborating people in the cultural field had defiled the uprighteous spirit of the Korean nation and betrayed the fatherland."[30] On the list there are the obvious candidates for such "honors" like novelists Han Sŏrya, Yi T'aejun, Yi Kiyŏng, Pak Seyŏng, Han Hyo, Pak Ch'anmo, poets Yi Wŏnjo, Kam Namch'ŏn, Min Pyŏnggyun, Nam Kungman, Cho Kich'ŏn, playwright Ham Sedŏk, literary critics An Mak and An Hamkwang. However, also appearing on the list are such writers as Yi Muyŏng, Kwak Hashin, Chŏng Pisŏk, Yŏm Sangsŏp, Hwang Sunwŏn, Son Sohŭi, Pak Yŏngjun, Kim Kwangju, poets Pak Kyeju, Kim Yŏngsu, Yang Chudong, Yi Ponggu, Chang Manyŏng, No Ch'ŏnmyŏng and literary critic Paek Ch'ŏl. The list is preceded by an admonition in which the aforementioned people are severely criticized and urged to repent for their sins: "You are a wicked bunch who are not able to look up to the heavens! Listen carefully, and you will hear the rain of fire descending to mete out your heavenly punishment. […] It is every father's emotion to regard bad sons with even more pity, therefore how can we not lament your transgressions? […] Since it is still not too late, repent for your past evils and come back to your father's embrace. […] Return fallen children of the Great Han! Return under the heavens of the Great Han where the bright rainbow of peace and democracy shines forever!"[31] It is obvious that the list was formed without any knowledge on the circumstances of the writers present in Seoul, as writer Kim Kwangju for example had managed to stay hidden during the whole three month period, but here still was earmarked as a collaborator.

Even though this magazine was quickly seized by the Korean Writers Association, the authorities still made use of this list in their investigations aimed at writers. The Military Investigative Police soon requested the NACO to forward a full list of collaborators to them, with the suspected authors divided into three types

[28] The National Association of Cultural Organizations was established on February 12, 1947 in large part to act as a counter movement to the left wing Chosŏn Federation of Cultural Organizations (established on February 24, 1946). Its activities before the war consisted of organizing a 'Rally of all Intellectuals to Promote the National Spirit' held on December 27 and 28 of 1948, and the publication of the magazine *National Culture* (Minjok munhwa).

[29] Cho, p. 279.

[30] *Frontline Literature: Literature Wartime Edition* (Chŏnsŏn munhak: munhak chŏnship'an) (October 1950), p. 51.

[31] Idem., pp. 49-50.

A, B, or C. Type A would signify an active collaborator, B a voluntary collaborator, and C a passive collaborator. The NACO thereafter quickly established a special committee to create a new list that would focus on the writers who had participated in the Writers League, which meant all but about ten writers from the Challyup'a. Even though the committee members consisted of several people who belonged to the Challyup'a group themselves, only Cho Yŏnhyŏn and Kim Tongni could give a strong rebuttal during the proceedings, as they were the only ones who without a doubt had not collaborated, since they had lived in hiding. During the meeting Cho Yŏnhyŏn recalls that the opinions were split between the two opposing groups: "While the Tokangp'a's were of the opinion that there should be severe punishments, the Challyup'a stance was that, except for a few special cases, everyone should not be prosecuted."[32] One poet from the Tokangp'a, whose real name is not mentioned by Cho Yŏnhyŏn, was of the opinion that twenty writers belonged to the A category, another twenty to B, and just ten writers to the C category. When Kim Tongni and Cho Yŏnhyŏn voiced their strong objections to this proposal, the poet became so angry that he threw an ink bottle to their heads.[33] Eventually, when the meeting came to an end a list was formed which was not that much different from the angry poet's proposal.[34]

The initial developments of the prosecution of collaborative writers, therefore, were not looking favorable for the Challyup'a. However, this was soon about to change. Right after sending the list, the investigative police committee asked that the NACO send a representative who could assist them in their investigation of collaborative writers. During the NACO meeting to decide upon who would be sent, it was Cho Yŏnhyŏn who would become its representative, since he had a close relationship with both prosecutors involved in the case. One of the prosecutors, Chŏng Hŭit'aek, had even spent time with Cho hiding together in a small hot attic during the occupation of Seoul, and were very close friends.[35] Due to Cho's close connections with the prosecutors, he was in a perfect position to solve the collaboration problem according to his own vision. Therefore, the prosecutors quickly came to the decision that in regards to literary transgressions of the writers no one on the list would in principle be punished. Thus most of the suspected writers under investigation escaped prison sentences altogether.

The Search for Redemption: Female poet No Ch'ŏnmyŏng and confessional writings

A few writers however were sentenced, but according to Cho Yŏnhyŏn these were prosecuted through organisations other than the NACO.[36] One of the more famous

[32] Cho, p. 280.
[33] *Ibid*., p. 280.
[34] *Ibid*., pp. 280-281.
[35] *Ibid*., p. 270.
[36] *Ibid*., p. 281.

examples of the people getting prison sentences for collaborationist activities during the three month occupation of Seoul is that of poetess No Ch'ŏnmyŏng.[37] She was tried by a military court under suspicion of joining the communist Writers League organization out of her own free will and participating actively in its propaganda activities. For these transgressions the prosecutor of her case even sought the death penalty.[38] During the trial No Ch'ŏnmyŏng explained her actions by telling that her reasons for joining the Writers League was to protect herself from harm and because there was no escape from the circumstances that she found herself in. Also, she told the judges that if she had truly been active in the organization, she could have given up poetess Mo Yunsuk's whereabouts, but she had not done so.[39] The prosecutor rebutted that the unforgivable part of her actions was that "she had the chance to flee after the war had broken out, but that she still decided to join the Writers League, even though she knew what sort of an organization it was and what kind of activities she was supposed to do there, and that she did these things with enthusiasm."[40] Eventually she escaped the death penalty and was sentenced to twenty years in prison. After a few months in prison she asked some old writer friends to get her released, which was taken up by Kim Kwangsŏp, Yi Hŏn-gu and Kim Sangyong who lobbied for her release. Through their actions No Ch'ŏnmyŏng was released on the 2nd of March 1951 after having spent five months in prison.

During her prison time she wrote several poems about her experiences and the frustration she felt with the people around her, who remained passive or became very hostile towards her. In *Farewell* (Kopyŏl) she mentions how people who used to praise her, now shun her completely. "People who the day before threw praise and flowers towards me / who sent me applause as if they were thunder clouds / now regard me with contempt or indifferently and just pass me by…"[41] In another poem *Who understands this fight?* (Nu-ga arachunŭn chŏnt'unya) she tells of her feelings of how she feels forsaken by both countries and how she cannot understand how she got into this situation. "Why did I receive this hardship? / Who understands this fight? / being held up at gunpoint by the red army / being held up at gunpoint by South Korea / Covered in its deep glow / I even went to prison. / This is absurd, it is like a dream / Truly it is like a dream…"[42]

What is evident in her prison writings, is that she is longing for redemption and to become accepted into the South Korean state again. Her confessional essay *A misjudgment* (Osan-i itta, 1952) on her experiences in Seoul and on why she joined the Writers League serves to clear her name. Her she explains that she joined the organization out of fear that she may be arrested at any moment, without any closer

[37] Female poet No Ch'ŏnmyŏng (1912-1957) is best known for her poem *The deer* (Sasŭm).
[38] *Tonga ilbo*, 29 October 1950.
[39] *Ibid*.
[40] *Ibid*.
[41] No Ch'ŏnmyŏng, Han'guk hyŏndae siin yŏn'gu 16: No Ch'ŏnmyŏng, (Seoul: Munhak segyesa (1997), p. 200.
[42] *Ibid*., p. 186.

friends of hers knowing about it. Therefore in order to feel safe among the many other South Korean writers who were also participating there, she decided to join up as well. "If I was to die, I would rather die in a place where there were many people that knew me. Not only this, but also in case I was kidnapped I would feel much more at ease when my colleagues would know about my capture. Therefore the time that I was sitting at the Writers League together with many other South Korean writers, was the time I felt most safe."[43]

In order to show her allegiance one notices in her poetry that she feels it necessary to make it exactly clear to the reader which country she is talking about. Therefore South Korean signifiers like the state (taehanminguk), or the flag (t'aegŭkki) are explicitly mentioned.[44] This is in contrast with another female poet, Mo Yunsuk, who has always been regarded as a pro-right writer due to her many activities in the NACO.[45] When Mo talks about the South Korean state, she can remain more ambiguous, for example by calling the South Korean soldiers "our soldiers" (uri pyŏngsa-dŭl). Another interesting feature that appears when comparing No's wartime poetry to those of Mo Yunsuk are the way both poets phrase their emotions in their poetry. As Kim Chinhŭi points out, when analyzing No Ch'ŏnmyŏng's poem *Hope* (Hŭimang), she phrases her sentences cautiously, and insecurely, by using sentence endings like "probably", "it looks like", "is it? / would it?", or by making use of repetitions like "being provoked again and again", and "I look at it and look again".[46] Comparing this to the style used by Mo Yunsuk in her poem *The day we waited for* (Kidaridŏn kŭnal), one sees Mo making use of more self-confident language and using grammatical verb endings that convey more authority.[47]

Even writers who had not been prosecuted and sentenced for their involvement in the Writers League still carried the stigma of being branded as a 'leftist' writer. According to Ko Ŭn these writers were even not allowed to be active in society for some time.[48] One of the stronger critical opinions against these writers was voiced by poet Cho Yŏngam (a good candidate for being the "angry poet" mentioned earlier above) in the *Literature* (Munye) magazine of December 1950. In an essay entitled "To the collaborationist Challyu writers – A word of warning to the trial of the Guidance League", he left no doubt what he thought of the writers who had been part of the Writers League. "You have left an indelible stain on the history of the Korean nation that

[43] No Ch'ŏnmyŏng, "A misjudgement" (Osani itta), in *Biographical essays: Becoming a woman without name* (Chajŏn esei: irŭm-ŏmnŭn yŏin-i toe-ŏ) (Seoul: Sŏnbi, 1991), p. 160.

[44] Poems in which these terms appear are *The blue sky of my heart* (maŭm-ŭi p'urŭn hanŭr-ŭl), *Northwards! Noprthwards!* (puk-ŭro puk-ŭro) and *Seperation* (isan).

[45] Mo Yunsuk read out patriotic poetry on the radio as the North Korean army invaded Seoul and remained in hiding until Seoul was recaptured by the UN army.

[46] Kim Chinhŭi, "Liberation and war in Mo Yunsuk and No Chŏnmyŏng's poetry: Focusing on the liberation and war period" (Mo Yunsuk-gwa No Ch'ŏnmyŏng shi-e nat'anan 'haebang'-gwa 'chŏnjaeng' – haebang ihu-put'ŏ chŏnjaengkkaji-ŭi shi-rŭl chungshim-ŭro), *Korean poetry studies* (Han'guk shihak yŏn'gu) 28 (August 2010), p. 24.

[47] By making use of the verb ending *~nora*.

[48] Ko Ŭn, *The 1950s* (1950nyŏndae) (Seoul: Hyangyŏn, 2005), p. 156.

comes into its own now. There is only one way to go for you. Leave a record of your misdeeds and atone for your sins. Divine female writers, or prostitutes should become a nun, or, Buddha willing, become a Buddhist nun, or what is also ok is to seek out a holy male writer or poet and live with him…."[49] The mentioning here of giving specific "advice" on what female writers are able to do to repent for their transgressions is a clear hint to the trial and imprisonment of No Ch'ŏnmyŏng and essayist Cho Kyŏnghŭi.

To try to ease the tensions between the different social groups and to reintegrate these stigmatized writers back to an active social role, one finds several essays and publications during the Korean War that deal with the experiences of these writers during the three month occupation period by North Korea. These writings helped to introduce the experiences of the Challyup'a in the public discourse and to make their experiences an example of the inhumanness and dangers that communism brings. At the same time these writings served for the writer as a confessional by giving a self-critical account of their activities. One notable publication of this ilk was *Nine people's accounts of three months under communist rule* (Chŏkhwasamsak kuinchip), published in April 1951. All contributors to the volume were people who were suspected of collaborating. O Chedo explains well in his contribution, that the writings in this publication should be seen as confessionals to come clean about their past deeds. "All memoirs of this three month period of hardship show that as the degree of collaboration deepens, the degree of regret also becomes inversely proportional. I am sincerely grateful that these feelings of deep regret and pity, and the uncharacteristic behavior and actions are expressed well and honestly."[50]

Poet Yang Chudong tells in this volume how communism is an infectious disease, that forever disappears once you gain immune from its effects.[51] In his opinion the communist propaganda makes the intelligentsia delusional to believe in its slogans for a short moment. He confesses that he had joined the Writers League organization, but that this was out of fear. As for the degree in which someone could be called a communist he saw several different groups during the three month period. The first group were those who were true believers. These people are in his opinion not part of the Korean nation and should be eradicated completely from society.[52] The second and largest group were the confused ones who were partly believers in the communist ideology. These people followed communism out of several reasons: either because of fear, because they were blinded by its propaganda, or because they were opportunists who sought to gain something from the situation. In order to reintegrate this second group back in society Yang Chudong proposes to reeducate them and put them in

[49] Cho Yŏngam, "To the collaborationist Challyu writers – A word of warning to the trial of the Guidance League" (Challyuhan puyŏk munin-dŭrege – Podoyŏnmaeng chaep'an-ŭl kyŏnggohanda), *Literature* (December 1950), pp. 74-75.

[50] O Chedo ed., *Nine people's accounts of three months under Communist rule* (Chŏkhwasamsak kuinchip), (Kukche Podoyŏnmaeng, 1951), pp. 142-143.

[51] Yang Chudong, Kongnan-ŭi kyohun [Lessons drawn from the red disaster], in *Nine people's accounts of three months under Communist rule*, pp. 6-7.

[52] *Ibid*., p. 11.

an organization stronger than that of the Guidance League.[53] He closes his confessional by promising that he will be an anti-communist from now on.[54]

Also in the other contributors' writings one can see a similar strategy of defining their experiences under Communist rule. The rule of fear that was implemented by the North led to their choice of complying with the demands of the North Korean state against their will. Literary critic Paek Ch'ŏl, for example, organizes his confession on the premise that he was an orphaned child without a father, who was always looking with fear and hope towards the southern sky.[55] His attachment to life led him to join the Writers League. The same was the case for female writer Ch'oe Chŏnghŭi who joined out of fear to die.[56] She confesses that she helped out with the production of wallpapers and participated in parades, but that while doing them she loathed the work itself. She tells that it is her son Ikcho who joined the South Korean army who has taught and guided her into learning about loving the fatherland.[57]

Even though almost every person in the literary field was cleared from any wrongdoings, or had repented for their sins, the literary field remained divided for the remainder of the Korean War along the lines of the Togangp'a and the Challyup'a. In the November 6, 1953 issue of the *Kyŏnghyang shinmun* literary critic Yi Pongnae wrote of the war period: "A few days ago I asked [novelist] Kim Song's honest opinion about the past three years. He became melancholic and said: "There were only personal attacks and slander." Others whom I asked all gave the same answer. Instead of concerning themselves about the crisis of literature…the only thing they were doing was to emotionally condemn the behavior and attitudes of a few writers who had made an incidental mistake."[58]

One of such personal attacks appears in the magazine *The free arts* (Chayu yesul) which was published in November 1952. Here it is again Cho Yŏngam who wrote a biting accusation towards literary critic Paek Ch'ŏl in his contribution "An overview of the literary field during the Korean War" (Tongnanchung-ŭi muntankaegwan). Here he calls him a "running dog" for both the Japanese and the communists, accusing him to always choose the side of the enemy.[59] This led to Paek filing a lawsuit against Cho for defamation and he defends himself one year later against these accusations in the magazine *The new world* (Shinch'ŏnji) of November 1953. Cho Yŏngam and Im Kŭngchae are portrayed by Paek as people who possess no

[53] *Ibid*., p. 15.
[54] *Ibid*., p. 18.
[55] *Ibid*., pp. 19-20.
[56] *Ibid*., p. 41.
[57] *Ibid*., p. 52. One of her wartime stories that deals with a son joining the army and the lesson that the mother learns from this about loving the fatherland is "One night before marching out" (Ch'uldong chŏnya).
[58] Yi Pongnae, Kyŏnghyang shinmun, 6 November 1953.
[59] Cho Yŏngam, "An overview of the literary field during the Korean War" (Tongnanchung-ŭi muntankaegwan) *The free arts* (Chayu yesul).

knowledge on literary matters, and are just "mentally challenged children", or "brokers of the literary field" who are seeking for power.[60]

Another example of the arguments running back and forth throughout the literary field was after the government had promulgated their plan of a Cultural Protection Law in February 1952. The goal of this law was to establish a National Academy of Science and a National Academy of Arts. Only intellectuals could vote who would become members of these institutions. For artists to be eligible to vote, however, the government had set strict rules on who was considered to be an artist. Either someone had to have a university diploma and have worked as an artist for the past three years, or, if the diploma requirement could not be met, have been active for ten years or more.[61] It would not be until after the war when the first elections were held, but in the meantime there were frequent arguments in the cultural field about the rules and regulations. When the elections were finally held in March 1954, the NACO quickly responded with a petition in which one of their problems with some of the chosen members was the fact that they were "shameless Pro-Japanese fellows and communist collaborators".

Conclusion

In this paper I looked at what motivated the South Korean writers to write anti-communist propaganda literature, or join organisations that were under the auspices of the army and the government. All throughout the war and even after the signing of the armistice, writers would accuse each other of pro-communist (and in relation to this, pro-Japanese) sympathies. This was mainly caused by the experiences in the first three months of the war. When Seoul was recaptured by the UN army on September 29, 1950, South Korean society was divided between a group of people who had fled southwards together with the army, and those who had stayed behind and were subjected to North Korean rule. The writers in this second group were initially all accused of pro-communist activities and a few were eventually convicted in court. This created a shockwave throughout the whole literary field. In order to redeem themselves, and to show publicly that they had no connections to the communist ideology, many decided to frequently write favorably about the South's ideology. Due to the volatile atmosphere in society to seek out communist reactionaries and the easy suspicion that could befall one's person, many writers were forced to become a staunch anti-communist. Another method to show one's true allegiance was to join one of the writer organisations that were setup under the auspices of the government. Kim Ch'ŏl argues that becoming a member of one of these organisations was a necessity in order to be shielded from getting labeled as a reactionary element.[62] Therefore, when looking for what motivated the

[60] Paek Ch'ŏl, "My conduct and morals as a writer" (Munhakcharosŏ-ŭi na-ŭi ch'ŏse-wa kŭ moral), *The new world* (Shinch'ŏnji) (November 1953).
[61] Cho Yŏnhyŏn, *Tonga ilbo*, 5 April 1953.
[62] Kim Ch'ŏl, p. 36.

writers to write for a specific regime it in some cases was not a free choice to write propaganda literature, but a necessity to not be ostracized from society.

That this period remained an issue after the war was over is shown when South Korean society became more open in the wake of the April 19, 1960 uprising against Syngman Rhee's authoritarian regime. Literary critic Yi Yongil was quick to write about the heretofore powerful Togangp'a writers: "The writer-politicians created their own boss system after Seoul was liberated and organized a struggle between groups. Their slogan of: 'How long have you been a patriot?' is not possible anymore after April 19. We dance on your dead bodies."[63] The motivations for most writers to write for the South Korean state during the Korean War cannot simply be explained with patriotism or for getting basic commodities to stay alive. Considering the volatile anti-communist atmosphere in South Korean society and the developments early on in the Korean War it became a necessity for many to redeem themselves, or to remove any doubts on them being in any way favorable to the communist ideology.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Kyŏnghyang shinmun, Tonga ilbo, Chosŏn ilbo newspapers

Frontline Literature: Literature Wartime Edition (Chŏnsŏn munhak: munhak chŏnship'an), (October 1950)

Cho Yŏngam, "To the collaborationist challyu writers – A word of warning to the trial of the Guidance League" (Challyuhan puyŏk munin-dŭrege – Podoyŏnmaeng chaep'an-ŭl kyŏnggohanda), *Literature* (Munye) (December 1950)

Cho Yŏnhyŏn, *The Korean writers of my time* (Nae-ga saraon hanguk muntan), Seoul: Yŏmunsa, 1977

O Chedo et. al., *Nine people's accounts of three months under communist rule* (Chŏkhwasamsak kuinchip), Kukche Podoyŏnmaeng, 1951

Korean writers association ed. (Hanguk muninhyophoe), *Twenty years of liberation literature* (Haebang munhak 20 nyŏn),Seoul: Chŏngŭmsa, 1966

Paek Ch'ŏl, *(Continued) Truth and reality* ((Sok)Chilli-wa hyŏnshil), Seoul: Pakyŏngsa, 1976

Paek Ch'ŏl, "My conduct and moral as a writer" (Munhakcharosŏ-ŭi na-ŭi ch'ŏse-wa kŭ moral), *The new world* (Shinch'ŏnji), (November 1953)

Kim Ch'ŏl, "The establishment and development of right-wing Korean literary organisations" (Hanguk bosuuik munye chojik-ŭi hyŏngsŏng-gwa chŏngae) *Practical literature* (Shilch'ŏn munhak), (1990)

Kim Yongchik, *North Korean literature* (Pukhan munhaksa), Seoul: Ilchisa, 2008

Ku Sang, "Two Years of War Writer Groups " (Chongkunchakkadan 2 nyŏn), *Frontline literature* (Chŏnsŏn munhak) 5, (May 1953)

Pak Wŏnsun, "How were the more than fifty thousand war collaborators dealt with?" (Chŏnchaeng puyŏkcha 5manyŏ myŏng ŏttŏk'e ch'ŏritoeŏnŭn-ga), *Historical criticism* (Yŏksa pipyŏng), (May 1990), pp. 172-198.

[63] *Kyŏnghyang shinmun*, 17th May 1960.

Shin Yŏngdŏk, *War writers and the Korean War* (Hanguk chŏnjaeng-gwa chonggunchakka), Seoul: Kukhakcharyowŏn, 2002

Sŏ Tongsu, "Anti-communist literature and the politics of the confession during the Korean War" (Hangukchŏnchaenggi pankongteksŭtŭ-wa kobaek-ŭi chŏngch'ihak), *Modern Korean literature studies* (Hanguk hyŏndaemunhak yŏngu) 20, (December 2006), pp. 79-110.

Sŏ Tongsu, "Study on literary debates during the Korean War" (Hanguk munhaktamnon yŏngu), *Study on Korean language and literature* (Uri ŏmunhak yŏngu) 27, pp. 385-418.

Sŏ Tongsu, "Literary criticism during the Korean War and the creation of anti-communist culture" (hangukchŏnchaenggi munyepip'yŏng-gwa pankongmunhwa-ŭi kihoek), *Modern literature studies* (Hyŏndae munhak yŏngu) 32, pp. 409-445.

Kim Chinhŭi, "Liberation and war in Mo Yunsuk and No Chŏnmyŏng's poetry: Focusing on the liberation and war period" (Mo Yunsuk-gwa No Ch'ŏnmyŏng shi-e nat'anan 'haebang'-gwa 'chŏnjaeng' – haebang ihu-put'ŏ chŏnjaengkkaji-ŭi shi-rŭl chungshim-ŭro), *Korean poetry studies* (Han'guk shihak yŏn'gu) 28 (August 2010), pp. 261-293.

Ko Ŭn, *The 1950s* (1950nyŏndae), Seoul: Hyangyŏn, 2005

No Ch'ŏnmyŏng, Han'guk hyŏndae siin yŏn'gu 16: No Ch'ŏnmyŏng, (Seoul: Munhak segyesa (1997)

No Ch'ŏnmyŏng, *Biographical essays: Becoming a woman without name* (Chajŏn esei: irŭm-ŏmnŭn yŏin-i toe-ŏ), Seoul: Sŏnbi, 1991

Yi Kibong, *The North's literature and artists* (Puk-ŭi munhak-gwa yesurin), Seoul: Sachoyŏn, 1986

STUDIA UBB PHILOLOGIA, LVIII, 1, 2013, p. 221 - 230
(RECOMMENDED CITATION)

"WE'RE SO HAPPY TO HAVE YOU HERE (BUT WE'D RATHER YOU HADN'T COME)": EXCLUSION, SOLIDARITY AND NETWORK BUILDING OF NORTH KOREAN REFUGEES

MARKUS BELL[1]

ABSTRACT. ***"We're So Happy to Have You Here (But We'd Rather You Hadn't Come)": Exclusion, solidarity and network building of North Korean refugees.*** In the last ten years, following periods of extensive famine, flooding and economic mismanagement on behalf of the North Korean government, the number of North Koreans arriving in South Korea has grown exponentially.

The gap between North Korean refugees (*talbukin*), individuals brought up in a socialist, group-oriented system, and South Koreans, raised in a highly competitive, democratic society, can often feel like a whole world of difference. The existence of *yeonjul* networks in South Korea further ensure that North Koreans often have an extremely difficult time coming to grips with their new surroundings. Given the almost insurmountable difficulties experienced by many North Koreans in acclimatizing to South Korean society and developing networks that can provide emotional and instrumental benefits, it is hardly surprising the frequency and ease with which many choose to associate, both professionally and socially, with others from North Korea.

This paper explicates the situation of North Korean refugees living in South Korea, in particular, the difficulties many individuals face after arriving in South Korea and the challenges experienced in creating and maintaining sustainable social networks. This paper argues that due to the exclusivity of social networks in South Korea, and the resultant difficulties talbukin experience in becoming part of these networks, the development of a North Korean enclave society is inevitable.

Keywords: North Korean refugees, South Korea, marginalization, social networks, settlement, enclave community.

REZUMAT. ***"Ne bucurăm atât de mult că sunteți aici (dar am fi preferat să nu veniți)": Excluderea, solidaritatea şi construcția de rețele sociale ale refugiaților nord-coreeni.*** În ultimii zece ani, în urma unor perioade de foamete prelungită, inundații şi proastă administrare din partea guvernului nord-coreean, numărul nord-coreenilor care ajung în Coreea de Sud a crescut exponențial.

[1] Markus Bell completed his Master's thesis through *Seoul National University* anthropology department and is currently a PhD candidate in the College of Asia and Pacific Studies at the *Australian National University*, where he continues to focus on North Korean refugee issues. E-mail: mpsbell@gmail.com.

Prăpastia dintre refugiații nord-coreeni (*talbukin*), formați într-un sistem socialist, orientat spre grup, şi sud-coreeni, crescuți într-o societate democratică, extrem de competitivă, poate fi resimțită adesea ca fiind enormă. Existența rețelelor *yeonjul* în Coreea de Sud face ca nord-coreenii să se adapteze adesea foarte greu cu noul mediu. Având în vedere dificultățile aproape insurmontabile trăite de mulți nord-coreeni în acomodarea la societatea sud-coreeană şi la rețelele care le pot oferi beneficii emoționale şi practice, nu sunt surprinzătoare frecvența şi uşurința cu care mulți preferă să se asocieze, atât profesional, cât şi social, cu alți refugiați din Coreea de Nord.

Lucrarea de față explică situația refugiaților nord-coreeni care trăiesc în Coreea de Sud, în special dificultățile cu care se confruntă mulți dintre ei după ce ajung aici şi provocările întâlnite în crearea şi menținerea de rețele sociale sustenabile. Lucrarea argumentează că, din cauza exclusivității rețelelor sociale din Coreea de Sud şi a dificultăților pe care *talbukin* le întâmpină în a deveni parte din aceste rețele, dezvoltarea unei societăți-enclavă nord-coreene este inevitabilă.

Cuvinte-cheie: Refugiați nord-coreeni, Coreea de Sud, marginalizare, rețele sociale, stabilire, comunitate-enclavă

It is necessary to understand that we are dealing with people who have been completely uprooted from their familiar surroundings and who have to start their lives over from the beginning. The backwardness of North Korea in terms of level of education and development, as well as traumatic experiences, might contribute to the feelings of isolation (*NKHR Briefing Report No.5.* 2011).

The Korean War of 1950-1953 cemented the division of the Korean people and left thousands of families separated. The times before and during the conflict saw the continuous movement of refugees up and down the peninsula, following the ebb and flow of war and famine on the land. After 1953, the border between North and South Korea became less permeable and the movement of people across the 38th parallel ground to a virtual halt. The years following this witnessed the occasional defection, most often for political reasons and usually so-called 'high-value' defections. These included several high-ranking military personal and Hwang Jang-yop– the creator of North Korea's *Juche* philosophy– who defected in 1997.

From the mid-90s, following periods of extensive famine, flooding and economic mismanagement on behalf of the North Korean government, the number of North Koreans leaving their homes and crossing the border into China grew exponentially. The most recent expression of these divided people is North Korean refugees, "People who have been completely uprooted from their familiar surroundings" (*NKHR Briefing Report No.5.* 2011), fleeing their homes and making their way to South Korea, where they live as what has most recently become known as *Saeteomin*[2] or *Bukhanitaljumin*.[3]

[2]New Settlers. (새터민)

After consultation with several North Koreans and a person involved with North Korean human rights, the more politically neutral term 'talbukin' was employed for this research.[4]

This paper throws light on the situation of North Korean refugees living in South Korea, in particular, the difficulties many individuals face after arriving in South Korea and the challenges experienced in creating and maintaining sustainable social networks. This paper argues that due to the exclusivity of social networks in South Korea, and the resultant difficulties talbukin experience in becoming part of these networks, the development of a North Korean enclave society is inevitable.

As of March 2012, the number of talbukin arriving in South Korea surpassed 23,200 people (*Korea Herald Online Edition*. March 2012).[5] These latest refugees arriving in the South are of diverse class backgrounds and ages with a gender imbalance favouring females (Haggard and Noland 2011: 21). Few of these migrants arrive in complete parent-children families, most arrive in broken families or, in many cases, alone.

During an interview with an ethnic Korean-Chinese woman in Jilin province, North East China,[6] I enquired as to the level of cross-border movement that was occurring at that time (late 2011) between North Korea and China. The young woman, born and brought up in the Korean Autonomously Governed province of China, explained,

Prior to 1995 there was frequent movement across the border. This ended, however, when North Koreans started to run out of food. At that time, officially, at least, border security was tightened, and movement back and forth all but halted. Unofficially, however, the number of people moving from North Korea into China, in search of food and/or a way to make money increased greatly (China field notes October 23rd 2011).

The explanation of the woman, herself with kin in both North and South Korea, accords with much of the research on the subject. A report published by the *Citizens' Alliance for North Korean Human Rights* in February 2011, illuminates a number of theories that explain the cause of migration. Push factors, such as widespread human rights violations, hunger, economic problems, and environmental disasters are accompanied by strong pull factors such as, "Seemingly better living conditions in other countries which draw refugees towards emigration and resettlement" (*NKHR Briefing Report No.5.* 2011: 11). Haggard and Noland further explain that push factors generally include hunger, loss of status, frustration over lack of opportunities, political persecution and a

---

[3] North Korean refugees/defectors (북한이탈주민)

[4] For more information on the historical and political factors involved in the labeling process of North Korean refugees see Markus Bell's (2012) article *Refugees, Defectors or Economic Migrants?* http://www.nknews.org/2012/06/refugees-defectors-and-economic-migrants/

[5] *Young N. Korean defectors struggle to adapt.* Article written by Song Sang-ho (sshluck@heraldm.com). This article also points out that the numbers of talbukin arriving in South Korea dropped to 2,379 in 2010 when Pyongyang tightened its border control while preparing for its hereditary power succession. The figure in 2011 rebounded to 2,737.

[6] North East China field work. October 2011.

wish to live in similar conditions to North Koreans living outside of the country (Haggard and Noland 2011: 29-32). Migration from North Korea is not a new phenomenon; new is the strength of the push and pull factors and the resultant scale of the movement of people across the borders. Soo-min Jeong, employee at an NGO in South Korea and talbukin, offers some insight into the reasons for these changes;

The first talbukin tended to stay in China for a long time before they came to South Korea, this was because it took a long time to save enough money to leave China. In the early 2000s it was a lot harder to come to South Korea, it cost more money to pay a broker, and it was more difficult to find a safe path along which to travel. As more and more talbukin have made it to South Korea, the process has become a lot easier and now, if you have enough money, it is possible to come directly from China. (Interview with Soo-min Jeong: arrived South Korea 2003).

Despite Soo-min's assertions that the process of defection from the North has become easier, a factor underlined in both the *Citizens' Alliance* report and in Haggard and Noland's 2011 text is the difficulty for talbukin of emigration to, and resettlement in South Korea. Haggard and Noland emphasize this, stating that, "Controlled clinical studies by doctors working with North Korean refugees in South Korea found few of their patients to be free of psychological disorders" (Haggard and Noland 2011: 36). Joo-shin Jeong's 2009 text, *Understanding the Question of Modern North Korean refugees*[7] further explains that, for many talbukin, the journey to South Korea results in the development of Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD). This kind of psychological trauma, Jeong determines, is experienced less severely, and for shorter periods, in individuals who are with family or who are able to develop strong emotional and instrumental support around them (Jeong 2009: 27).

For many, arriving in South Korea can mean starting from scratch in regards to establishing networks with which to navigate the new socio-political terrain. In an insightful piece written for the *Anthropology of Korean Studies*, Jaeyeol Yee discusses the two main forms of social networks that exist among South Koreans– *yeon-gyeol* and *yeonjul*.[8] According to Yee, "There is a strong tendency [in South Korea] for people to use regional, school and family ties as a means of doing business, getting information and making important decisions" (Yee 2003: 505). Yee underlines the exclusionary characteristics of social networks in South Korea, explaining that while 'yeon-gyul' refers to a more neutral connection between people, 'yeonjul', "built upon close and personal trust relationships…tend to become a barrier to those who do not share the link" (Yee 2003: 506).[9] In the same volume, Jaehyuck Lee adds to this understanding of the more nefarious aspects of social networks in South Korean society, pointing out

[7] *현대 탈북자 문제의 이해*

[8] 연결과 연줄.

[9] Yee (2003) further explains that these types of social ties usually transcend institutionalized rules and formal prescriptions. Some companies even require job applicants to state a list of friends and acquaintances prominent in either politics or government.

that, "The Korean word *Yeonjul* refers to an exclusive network, with strong connotations of serving its members mainly as an informal (and many times illegal) route of collective rent seeking through network mobilization…backdoor rent seeking" (Lee 2003: 582). It would be unfair to describe Korean society as being hostile to outsiders. However, it is important to keep in mind a social milieu that has a "very homogenous association within the lives of sex, age, and region…that may work against social integration" (Yee 2003: 526).

Inevitably, the existence of *yeonjul* networks restrict marriage, employment and socializing opportunities for talbukin, thus ensuring that North Koreans often have an extremely difficult time coming to grips with their new surroundings. In interviews for the writing of the thesis from which this paper is drawn, a majority of talbukin interviewees voiced some kind of discontent and feelings of exclusion from the wider society. Ji-young Seo, who arrived in 2005 explained, "There seems to be a wall between us [and South Koreans], we are the same ethnicity but there is a prejudice against people from the North and communication is really difficult. This has got worse in the last four years as more and more North Koreans have come to South Korea" (Field notes June 25th 2011). These intangible barriers, separating those on the 'inside' from new arrivals, are most starkly felt by those for whom a state sponsored discourse of inclusion has been widely promulgated. In regards to the South Korean government's plans for assimilation, it seems unlikely that most North Korean refugees would want to give up their identity entirely and 'become South Korean'. Many North Koreans report disappointment at their inability to fit in and, with the exception of those young enough to be easily 'inserted' into the South Korean milieu, the lived experience of being an outsider in South Korea plays a stronger role in influencing the opinion of individual North Koreans than government policy (Chung 2008, Kim 2006, Lankov 2006).

Compounding feelings of marginalization, lingering memories of family and the hometown left behind contribute to a feeling of being unsettled in their Southern homes. As one young man acknowledged during an interview, "These feelings stay in your heart, you never forget your hometown." Secondly, talbukin are especially sensitive to their surroundings. As the phrase that is recycled in so many news articles goes, "North and South Korea remain technically at war since the signing of the armistice in 1953." Indeed, this continued state of war is often played on for political advantage in both the North and South and it seems it is often talbukin who feel the weight of responsibility for what transpires in the geo-political arena. Thirdly, many talbukin continue to harbour feelings of displacement and alienation. Many feel they have no place in the fast-paced, capitalist South Korea. The gap between talbukin, individuals brought up in a socialist, group-oriented system, and South Koreans, raised in a highly competitive, democratic society, can often feel like a whole world of difference.

Jeong (2009) argues that many talbukin develop a split personality of sorts, dividing their identity, psychology and emotions between their new homes in South Korea and their hometowns where their families and friends remain. Jeong postulates

that, "There is a possibility that the continued growth of a group of people who experience this emotional conflict could be sowing the seeds for future social problems in South Korea" (Jeong 2009: 57). Soo-min, an employee of an NGO established by North Korean refugees and herself originally from the North explains,

> I don't believe in the [South Korean government's] policies of assimilation. It means I would have to completely change myself, this means that I would be disrespecting myself. I am not ashamed about coming from North Korea…if I was made to throw away who I am, I would lose myself, am I not a person? Am I stupid? I want to protect the North Korean Soo-min, she is important as well (Interview with Soo-min: arrived 2002).

Many of the talbukin I spoke with confessed they feel like outsiders in South Korea. Hye-jin Lee, relatively new to South Korea, explained that,

> Sometimes I speak using a North Korean accent, and sometimes I speak with a South Korea one. When I am at home, I use North Korean, and when I am with North Korean people I use North Korean. When I am at school or talking to people outside I use a South Korean accent.

A couple of times I have used a North Korean accent without thinking in front of South Korean people or with our school teacher. They asked where I was from and I had to tell them I am from Changwon in Gangwondo. I don't actually know where that is! Only three people are aware that I came from North Korea. The others don't. But sometimes my teacher says things in front of other classmates which let other people know that I am not from here. For example, she once asked me in front of everyone if I know how to use the subway. I was really embarrassed. I never tell people where I am from. I don't want people to know because I think they will think badly about me. I try and keep it secret. But it feels bad, uncomfortable, lying to people about where I am from (Discussion with Hye-jin Lee: arrived South Korea 2010).

For talbukin who arrive in South Korea, adaptation can be a long and difficult process, hindered by feelings of guilt, regret and an underlying sense that they will never fit into their new environment. Individuals such as Hye-jin find it necessary to undergo a division of the self. When speaking with South Koreans, she uses a 'Seoul standard' accent, and on the occasion that she makes a mistake with her diction she claims to be from a small town in the north-east of South Korea. In front of her North Korean friends and with people she trusts, she relaxes and uses her natural accent. Hye-jin confesses that this can be both tiring and uncomfortable for her, as she continuously has to change roles according to her audience.

Given the almost insurmountable difficulties experienced by many North Koreans in acclimatizing to South Korean society and developing networks that can provide emotional and instrumental benefits, it is hardly surprising the frequency and ease with which many choose to associate, both professionally and socially, with others from North Korea. In *Korea and Its Futures* (1998), Roy Grinker points out that defectors

have frequent contact with each other, in fact, "Most defectors are close only to other defectors…In addition, they belong to defector organizations designed, organized, and run by people who defected in the 1960s" (Grinker 1998: 238). Since Grinker wrote, in 1998, many things have changed. My own fieldwork pointed to the fact that young talbukin are more active in creating and participating in organizations created by other talbukin who have also arrived within the last ten years. Grinker's point, that talbukin have regular contact with each other and are mostly only close with each other, however, continues to hold truth fourteen years on. Chang-soon Kim explains, in reference to families divided during and following the Korean War,

> For many North Korean refugees such kinship ties were broken by the wars and the partition of the nation. Some have tried to fulfill that relationship by assembling and mobilising their kin members wherever they have been relocated. Reflecting the importance of kinship to Koreans, those without kin group affiliation [as in the case of many talbukin] have created pseudo, quasi, or fictional kinships, basing their ties on having attended the same school or coming from the same prefecture. Fictional kinship is much more prevalent among the North Korean refugees in the South (Kim 1988: 42).

Kim, writing in 1988, was explaining the creation of pseudo-kinship ties amongst the first generation of divided families and North Korean refugees that occurred as a result of the Korean War. His explanation is equally valid in regards to the newest expression of Korea's fragmented politico-geographic division: talbukin. Contemporary research has shown that NGO groups, church groups and independently organized social groups are sites where talbukin come together to create and maintain social networks, renew friendships and share memories of home (Bell. 2012 unpublished thesis, *International Crisis Group* 2011, Suh 2002).

It is while in communion with others from North Korea that many talbukin feel comfortable to speak of times in the North. Conversation in secular and spiritual spaces is, for the most part, free from the bombastic condemnation of the North Korean state. Such groups are essential for providing a space outside of the politics. It seems apparent that while the relationships being created amongst talbukin and between talbukin and South Koreans are beneficial for those involved, there continues to be a gap between talbukin and the wider society.

If we are to offer an assessment, what kind of North Korean community might we see developing in South Korea in the near future? It seems likely that it will be distinctly 'North-facing', given that, among other reasons, the majority of individuals in South Korea have family across the border. Yet, taking into consideration the reality that casting one's eyes northwards is neither socially, nor legally condoned, it is likely that this longing for home would be expressed in the idiom of reunification.

Reunification seems to be an acceptable means, on both sides of the 38th parallel, of expressing a great many emotions which otherwise could be construed as a kind of sympathy for the devil. Secondly, given the overall lower socio-economic standing of

North Koreans in South Korea, and their relatively weaker social networks, it is possible that inter-marriage and inter-community economic co-operation will also be a feature of North Koreans in the South. Thirdly, allowing for the large number of North Koreans skilled in Mandarin and who maintain familial ties in northeast China, it is likely this community will be transnational in character, linked to both China and North Korea through trade and a continuous movement of people. Lastly, as the North Korean community grows in size, its political voice is likely to demand more of a hearing that it currently receives.

Taking into account the unlikelihood of success of the government's assimilation project, and the difficulties that many North Koreans are faced with in establishing emotionally and instrumentally beneficial social networks, it seems that the formation of a North Korean enclave community in South Korea is inevitable. This community will develop its own identity that diverges from the wider South Korean society. Furthermore, it will be constructed with thick and diffuse social networks that, although reaching into the host society, have their central concerns located firmly in the talbukin community. It will also have its own history and its own cultural logic in terms of what is considered 'Korean', and its own vision for the future– this being a forward facing community looking towards reunification. What kind of relationship will develop between this enclave and the wider society will become clearer in the next few years. What does seem pertinent now, if the South Korean government is to pre-empt these developments, is that education will be needed for North Koreans and South Koreans alike, both to foster a sense of mutual understanding, and to prevent the *Us/Them* dichotomy prevalent in many societies that welcome refugees into their midst.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bergsten, C. and Choi, I. *The Korean Diaspora in the World Economy. Institute for International Economics*. Special Report 15. Jan. 2003.

Bourdieu, P. (1977) 2009. *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. University Press. Cambridge.

Carsten, Janet. 1997. *The Heat of the Hearth*. Clarendon Press. Oxford.

Carsten, Janet. (editor). 2000. *Cultures of Relatedness. New Approaches to the Study of Kinship*. Cambridge University Press. Cambridge.

Carsten, Janet. 2004. *After Kinship*. Cambridge Press. Cambridge. United Kingdom.

Carsten, Janet. (Editor). 2007 *Ghost of Memory: Essays on Remembrance and Relatedness*. Blackwell Publishing. Oxford.

Cho, Grace. 2008. *Haunting the Korean Diaspora: Shame, Secrecy and the Forgotten War*. University of Minnesota Press. U.S.

Chun, Y. J, and S. M MacDermid. 1997. "Perceptions of family differentiation, individuation, and

self-esteem among Korean adolescents." *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 59:451–462.

Chung, Byung-Ho. 2008. Between Defector and Migrant: Identities and Strategies of North Koreans in South Korea. *Korea Studies*. Volume 32.

Climo, J.J and Cattel, M. 2002. *Social Memory and History. Anthropological Perspectives*. AltaMira Press. C.A.

Connerton, P. 1989. *How Societies Remember*. Cambridge University Press.

Cumings, B. 2004. *North Korea: Another Country.* Scribe Publications. Australia.

Cumings, B. 2005. *Korea's Place in the Sun: A Modern History.* New York. Norton.

Cumings, B. 2010. *The Korean War: A History*. New York. Random House.

Grinker, R.R. 1998. *Korea and Its Futures: Unification and the Unfinished War*. New York. St. Martin's Press.

Haggard, S. and Noland, M. 2011. *Witness to Transformation: Refugee Insights into North Korea.* Washington D.C. Peterson Institute for Economics.

Halbwachs, M. 1992 (1925). *On collective memory*. Chicago. University Press of Chicago.

Holy, L. 1996. *Anthropological Perspectives on Kinship*. London. Pluto Press.

Hong, C. Summer 2004. North Korea: One Refugee's Story. 14,2; *Academic Research Library.*

Hosaniak, J. 2011. Homecoming Kinsmen or Indigenous Foreigners?: The Case of North Korean Re-settlers in South Korea. *North Korean Human Rights Briefing Report No. 5.* Citizen's Alliance for North Korean Human Rights. Life and Human Rights Books.

Janelli and Janelli. 1982. *Ancestor Worship and Korean Society*. California. Stanford.

Kang, Chol-Hwan and Rigoulot, P. *The Aquariums of Pyoungyang. Ten Years in the North Gulag.* New York. Perseus Books.

Kang, Hyok. 2005. *This is Paradise: My North Korean Childhood.* Little, Brown. UK.

Kipnis, A. 1997. *Producing Guanxi. Sentiment, Self and Subculture in a North China Village*. Duke University. Durham and London.

Kim, E. 2007. "Our Adoptee, Our Alien: Transnational Adoptees as Spectres of Foreignness and Family in South Korea." *Anthropological Quarterly* 80:497-531.

Kim, H.K. 2011. Support for Self-Reliance of North Korean Defectors. *Korea Focus*. Vol.19, No.3, Autumn 2011. (originally published in Chosun Ilbo, May 18, 2011). P12-13.

Kim, Jih-Un. 2006. Becoming Aliens among Brothers? Status and Perception of North Korean Refugees in South Korea. *All Academic Research.* http://www.allacademic.com//meta/p_mla_apa_research_citation/1/8/0/4/8/pages180485/p180485-17.php

Kim, Suk-Young. 2010. *Illusive utopia: theater, film, and everyday performance in North Korea*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press

Lankov, A. 2004. "North Korean refugees in northeast China." *Asian Survey* 44:856–873.

Lankov, A. 2006. "Bitter Taste of Paradise: North Korean Refugees in South Korea". *Journal of East Asian Studies* 6 105-137.

Lee, Sang Man. Jan-Feb 2001. "North Korean Refugees." *Korean Focus.* Vol.9. No.1-3.

Lee, Y., M. K Lee, K. H Chun, Y. K Lee, and S. J Yoon. 2001. "Trauma experience of North Korean refugees in China." *American Journal of Preventive Medicine* 20:225–229.

Lim, Hyun-Chin. Chung Young Chul. March 2006. "The Political and Human Rights Issues Surrounding North Korean Defectors." *The Review of Korean Studies*. Vol. 9 Number 1. 87-116.

Martin, B. 2004. *Under the Loving Care of the Fatherly Leader: North Korea and the Kim Dynasty.* New York. Thomas Dunn Books.

Moon, Seungsook. 2005. *Militarized Modernity and Gendered Citizenship in South Korea*. Duke University. U.S.

Schweizer and White (ed.) 1998. *Kinship, Networks and Exchange.* United Kingdom. Cambridge University Press.

Suh, Jae-jean. "North Korean Defectors: Their adaption and Resettlement". *East Asian Review* Vol.14 No. 3 Autumn 2002 pp. 67-86.

Sutton, D. 2001. *Remembrance of Repasts: An Anthropology of Food and Memory.* New York. Berg Publishers.

International Crisis Group, 14 July 2011. "Strangers at Home: North Koreans in the South", Asia Report No. 208,

Korean National Commission for UNESCO. 2003. Korean Anthropology: Contemporary Korean Culture in Flux. *Anthropology of Korean Studies Vol. III.* Seoul. HollyM.

金周姬. 1992. *품앗이와 情의 人間關係.* 집문당.

이순형, 조수철, 김창대, 진미정. 2007. *탈북 가족의 적응과 심리적 통합.* 서울대학교 출판사.

이순형, 김창대, 진미정. 2009. *탈북민의 가족 해체와 재구성.* 서울대학교 출판사.

정주신. 2009. *현대 탈북자 문제의 이해.* 프리마 books.

Online resources:

British Embassy Website: http://ukinrok.fco.gov.uk/en/
NK News: http://www.nknews.org/

STUDIA UBB PHILOLOGIA, LVIII, 1, 2013, p. 231 - 244
(RECOMMENDED CITATION)

STRATEGIC PROPAGANDA THROUGH NORTH KOREAN FILMS: A NEW APPROACH

KWAK DONG HUN[1]

ABSTRACT. ***Strategic Propaganda through North Korean Films: A New Approach.*** Propaganda can be regarded as one of the communicational forms with the public in North Korea. Its function is considered as simple message-transmission toward the public because it has a simple visible image or sometimes it has a ludicrous image. In almost all parts of North Korea, various forms of propaganda can be found easily. Especially, the film has the important feature of mass-communications in North Korea and it is considered as the main propaganda-instigation tool of the Workers' Party of Korea for stimulating and altering effectively the stream of consciousness for the masses. Unfortunately, until now most of the existing researches about North Korean films have covered just simple overviews and appreciations for films. In general, seeing a film is not a simple visual act, but a social act to interpret the meaning of socially prescribed aspects that are depicted in the film. And making film is not a simple act of art, but a social act to convey the selected message of film-producer. If we were to eliminate a superficial approach to North Korean films, we would lose an opportunity to observe a special social function of North Korean films. Considering that all films have been made as a national undertaking in North Korea, the films may be regarded as a shortcut to understand a mysterious country, North Korea.

Keywords: Film, Propaganda, 'On the Art of the Cinema', Juche Idea

REZUMAT. ***Propagandă strategică prin intermediul filmelor nord-coreene. O nouă abordare.*** Propaganda poate fi privită drept una din formele de comunicare cu publicul din Coreea de Nord. Funcția sa este aceea de a transmite mesaje către public, uneori prin imagini vizibile, simple, alteori prin imagini comice. Variate forme de propagandă pot fi găsite cu uşurință în aproape toate regiunile din Coreea de Nord. Filmul, în special, are importanta funcție de comunicare în masă în Coreea de Nord şi este considerat principalul instrument de propagandă/instigare de către Partidul Muncitoresc al Coreei, datorită efectului de stimulare şi modificare efectivă a conştiinței maselor. Din păcate, cele mai multe cercetări de până acum despre filmele nord-coreene constă doar în simple rezumate şi recenzii de filme. În general, a vedea un film nu este un simplu act vizual, ci unul social, de interpretare a semnificației unor aspecte sociale determinate, descrise în film. Iar a face un film nu este un simplu act artistic, ci un act social prin care se transmite un mesaj selectat de către autorul filmului. Dacă am elimina abordările superficiale ale filmelor nord-coreene, s-ar pierde oportunitatea de a observa particulara lor funcție socială. Având în vedere că toate filmele sunt făcute sub patronaj național, acestea pot fi privite ca o cale de a înțelege o țară încă necunoscută, Coreea de Nord.

Cuvinte-cheie: Film, propagandă, „Despre arta filmului", Ideea Juche

[1] Lecturer supported by Korea Foundation at the Department of Asian Languages and Literatures, Faculty of Letters, Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca. He holds a PhD in International Relations since 2010. E-mail: kwak9571@gmail.com.

These days, actually after the death of Kim Jong-il, the variety of books and articles related with North Korea have been presented in order to meet the attention of many people. Unfortunately, it is true that most of these publications tends to concentrate upon a simple interesting gossip just like the new leader of North Korea, Kim Jong-eun[2]'s privacy, his spending, hobbies, preferred foods or his relationships with women and so on.

Beyond such a simple and primary understanding about North Korea, we need to deepen properly our understanding about this country. The balanced perspective is necessary to recognize and understand truthfully North Korea's appearance itself. Of course it would be the best way if we were to go in there, North Korea to stay and observe directly but this method is practically impossible. In order to overcome these difficulties and limitations of the study about North Korea, we need to research some fundamental data that have been made officially in this country.

Especially, the films from the regime of North Korea might be a representative data that transmits well their official attitude. Through the films, the tangible aspects of North Korean society as well as the ideological orientation of North Korean regime have been revealed sufficiently. More specifically, in North Korea the films can be regarded as a national effort to transform the people into a complete socialist human. In North Korea the film has been used as a tool to instill the greatness of leaders and to present the party's policy direction. Through these functions, the film has transformed the people into a decent revolutionized member of communist society. If we researched on the North Korean films, we would be able to guess the proper answers to some questions; what ideal do leaders of the North Korean regime including Kim family[3] pursue? And how is the live of the people under the power of these leaders in North Korea?

Clearly the film is a genre of art that is a very important in the world and it makes a huge impact to the public. Later, in the process of unification of South and North Korea the film will be a great role for social unification. That's why the researches on the films of North Korea have to be essential. Above everything else, as the most important merit, the researches on films give us a good opportunity to observe a vivid North Korean society.

The film might be researched more easily than any other communicational forms. As a general rule, the communicational forms from various communist countries including North Korea have a noticeable feature: 'esoteric communication[4]'. Zagoria introduced some special features of communicational forms from the communist bloc.

---

[2] His name 김정은(金正恩) is also romanized as Kim Jong–un or Kim Jung-eun.

[3] Kim Il-sung (15 Apr 1912~8 Jul 1994), Kim Jong-il (16 Feb 1942~17 Dec 2011), Kim Jong-eun (8 Jan 1983 or 1984~)

[4] Yeom Hong Cheol, "Positive Analysis on Domestic and Foreign Policy of North Korea in the past 10 years" *Korea Policy Report*, Vol.21, Nr.2 (1987), p.293. Quoted in Zagoria Donald. S, *The Sino-Soviet Conflict, 1956~1961*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press,1962), p.24~35:'Zagoria analyzed carefully communicational forms from the socialist countries. He mentioned some keys to understand the mystery of the mass media from the communist bloc; the controversial tone, the reduced (omitted) information on a particular event, the falsification of a particular fact, the releasing of selected news, the special mention, the sudden change of conventional attitude and so on. He said that even if only one of these phenomena appears in the media (in the forms of communication with the public), we need to look at carefully the intention of esoteric express.'

He examined mainly about the mass media such as newspapers and he absolutely did not mention films from the communist bloc, but the film might be regarded as one of important communicational forms with the public. Among various communicational forms with the public in North Korea, we would be able to approach a little bit easier relatively to the research of films. The majority of communicational forms from North Korea have revealed their esoteric messages, namely, the pretty limited messages from the regime of North Korea. But in the films the most illustrated images, designed for the public, might be seen easily. Unlike any other communicational forms that reveal rarely or never their messages or intents, the North Korean films closely follow the basic duty for the communication with the people through a functional feature, namely, simple message-transmission by filmed images.

In order to approach efficiently to the films of North Korea, we need to eliminate a fixed idea, "the film is just entertainment and it just gives us enjoyment". In general, the film reflects certain society like a mirror. But the North Korean films have played a role more than a mirror that reflects society until now. A significant role to lead and regulate the North Korean society has been given to the films. In addition, the film has been considered continuously by the North Korean leaders as 'the most efficient tool to educate the people'[5]. In North Korea the films have been made and used by means of the human alteration with the full support of communist regime. Looking at this point, the North Korean films have a very propaganda feature to control systematically the tendencies of the people[6]. In plus, Lasswell mentioned, "propaganda refers solely to control of opinion by significant symbols"[7]. His definition makes us infer that the North Korean films can control and stimulate the people to be the socialized human, by significant symbols on the film screen.

The meaning of film has been referred to fully in several encyclopedias that were published in North Korea; "The film is one of art that shows some moving and figurative images. In plus, the film is a comprehensive art that shows about the human and his life through some filmed human life and behavior with the speeches of actors", "According to the ideological contents and the degree about how reflects reality, the films are divided into art film, documentary film[8], science film, film for TV and so on", "The film is a kind of art that reflects a reality intuitively and

[5] Chung Soo Yun, "A Study on the Existence in South Korea for North Korea" *Korean Thought and Culture,* Nr. 54 (Seoul: The Society of Korean Thought and Culture, 2010), p. 624

[6] Rajendra K. Sharma and Rachana Sharma, *Social Psychology*, (New Delhi: Atlantic, 1997), p. 294: 'One of the key points for understanding propaganda was introduced in this book. Propaganda is used to control the tendencies of the people. Propaganda is a psychological process in which suggestion is systematically employed to influence or to control the ideas, ideals and tendencies of the masses directly or indirectly. Therefore, the North Korean films are really the most representative form of propaganda.'

[7] Lee Young Mi, "A Study on the Literature as a Propaganda Medium for the Political System of North Korea during the Liberation Period" *The Modern Novel Research*, Nr.19 (Suwon: The Society of Korean Fiction, 2003), p. 271. Quoted in Harold D. Lasswell, "The Theory of Political Propaganda" *American Political Science Review,* Nr.21 (1927), p. 627

[8] Choi Cheok Ho, *The History of Cinema in North Korea*, (Seoul: Jib Mun Dang, 2000), p. 183: "In the year of 1946, 'Our Legend (우리의 전설)'was produced in North Korea. This film was North Korea's first documentary film. In plus, it is known as the first film of North Korea."

comprehensively by lively motions", "The film is a powerful intuitive means of propaganda for our party"[9]. In North Korea the film has been treated more importantly than any other art genres because it appeals strongly to the public with the high pervasive popularity. Kim Jong-il was interested extraordinarily in the films. When he entered the political world, the first field that he dominated for the first time was, so to speak, the field of cinematic. Some people have regarded simply this working of Kim Jong-il in the field of film as his personal hobby. Even experts usually depict him as a mere 'movie bug'[10]. But he was a leader of one country that is called 'North Korea'. That's why we should recognize that he paid attention to the field of art and literature, especially the powerful demagogic propaganda ability of films[11].

The theoretical base and important guidelines of the North Korean films is 'On the Art of the Cinema' that was written by Kim Jong-il.

After graduating from university, Kim Jong-il worked in 'the Guidance Division of Culture and Art' of the party, gaining experiences as successor of Kim Il-sung. In 1973, he authored 'On the Art of the Cinema' that was based on the 'Juche Idea', so to speak, the ruling ideology of North Korea. This book includes all sectors of the film, ranging over the theory of film-literature, film directing, acting, soundtracks, performance, film screen and so on[12].

'On the Art of the Cinema' that was written by Kim Jong-il has been widely recognized as the highest guidelines from the process of making films in North Korea. This has exercised huge influence on the film industry in North Korea[13]. In this book of Kim Jong-il, there are firm socialist contents that are based on the

[9] Lee Kyung Sik, "The Theory and Characteristic of North Korea's Movie" *The Movie*, Vol.4, Nr.1 (Busan: The Film Institute of Busan National University, 2011), p. 173

[10] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kim_Jong-il (9 Oct. 2012): 'Kim Jong-il was said to be a huge film fan, owning a collection of more than 20,000 video tapes and DVDs. His reported favorite movie franchises included *Friday the 13th*, *Rambo*, *Godzilla*, and Hong Kong action cinema, and any movie starring Elizabeth Taylor. In a 2011 news story, 'The Sun' reported, "Kim Jong-il was obsessed with Elvis Presley. His mansion was crammed with his idol's records and his collection of 20,000 Hollywood movies included Presley's titles — along with Rambo and Godzilla. He even copied the King's Vegas-era look of giant shades, jumpsuits and bouffant hairstyle. It was reported in 2003 that Kim Jong-il had a huge porn film collection" '

[11] Lee Jong Seok, *The Understanding of Modern North Korea*, (Seoul: History Criticism, 2005), p. 525

[12] Lee Kyung Sik, *op.cit.*, p.174

[13] Editorial Department from Yonhap News, *The Anthology of 400 North Korean terms*, (Seoul: Yonhap News, 1999), p. 293

concept for propping up the status of his father, Kim Il-sung. The high interest for the films and filmmaking from Kim Jong-il were not mere hobby of young person, but the representation of efforts to inspire unity between the Great Leader Kim Il-sung, the party and the people[14]. Kim Jong-il manifested well his loyalty and filial affection towards his father by using works of art such as films. 'On the Art of the Cinema (영화예술론)' that was written by Kim Jong –il in April 1973 has to be considered more minutely in order to comprehend the North Korean films more deeply.

In this book Kim Jong-il tried to apply 'Juche Idea' and the subjective literary theory to the field of film uniquely and concretely. In the preface of 'On the Art of the Cinema', Kim Jong-il himself stated, "The cinema (film) is now one of the main objects on which efforts should be concentrated in order to conduct the revolution in art and literature. The cinema occupies an important place in the overall development of art and literature. As such it is a powerful ideological weapon for the revolution and construction. Therefore, concentrating efforts on the cinema, making breakthroughs and following up success in all areas of art and literature is the basic principle that we must adhere to in revolutionizing art and literature"[15]. In addition, Kim Jong-il's father, Kim Il-sung also mentioned about the role of films, "Like the leading article of the Party paper, the cinema should have great appeal and move ahead of the realities. Thus, it should play a mobilizing role in each stage of the revolutionary struggle"[16].

Especially, Kim Jong-il insisted firmly on the importance of directing group (every participant in the production, including director) from the process of film-making. He said that the fundamental and important duty of the directing (producing) group in the field of film is to make revolutionary film of high ideological and artistic value, which makes an effective contribution to arming people fully with the party's monolithic ideology and which imbue the whole of society with 'Juche Idea'. He believed that this duty of directing group can be carried out at the right time and properly, according to how directing group works well with executing the revolutionary tasks[17]. This opinion of Kim Jong-il might be based strictly on the revolutionary ideology from 'Juche Idea'. That's why we have to get a survey of this ruling ideology of North Korea, 'Juche Idea' to understand more easily the aspects of North Korean films. This ideology was concreted more systematically through a thesis that was published by Kim Jong-il in the year of 1982. In company of 'On the Art of the Cinema' written by Kim Jong-il, a thesis, 'On the Juche Idea' helped Kim Jong-il to gain the unwavering confidence of his father and finally he could succeed in taking absolute power from his father, Kim Il-sung. In this thesis, he analyzed 'Juche Idea', classifying this ideology by 3 major principles: the philosophical principle (철학적원리), the socio-historical principle (사회역사적원리) and the guiding principle (통치원리)[18]. Kim Jong-il linked 'Juche Idea' and the people's consciousness of revolution into closer

[14] Seo Dae Suk, *Leaders from Modern North Korea*, (Seoul: Eulyoo, 2000), p. 187~188
[15] http://www.amazon.com/On-Art-Cinema-Kim-Jong/dp/0898756138 (11 Oct. 2012)
[16] Kim Jong-il, *The Cinema and Directing*, (Pyongyang, Foreign Language Publishing House, 1987), p. 1
[17] Kim Jong-il, *op.cit.,* p. 6
[18] Kang Sin Chang, *The Principles of Study about North Korea*, (Seoul: Ul Ryu Culture, 1998), p. 41

relations with each other. He said that, 'Juche Idea' was created on the basis of a practical requirement of the Korean revolution and the revolution is a struggle to meet the people's desire for independence by enlisting their strength. According to his opinion, when the people is armed with the revolutionary idea and united into an organized political force, the people can emerge victorious in the revolution. Kim Jong-il was very emphatic on the importance of the role of revolutionaries. He maintained that revolutionaries have to go among the people to educate, organize and inspire them for a struggle[19]. This mention from Kim Jong-il about the duty of revolutionaries toward the people has something in common with the mention of the role of films from 'On the Art of the Cinema'. There is a thread of connection between the duty of revolutionaries and the role of films in the theory of Kim Jong-il. He considered the role of films as the most efficient tool to educate the people. According to his consideration, the film can be a good revolutionary to educate and alter the people for realizing successful revolution. In the part of the socio-historical principle from his thesis, Kim Jong-il insisted that, "through combination between leadership and the people, the people can take a historical subjective position and can perform the given role (revolution).…, although the people is the creator of history, only through the correct leadership, the people can take subjective position and execute the role of social historical development". This opinion from Kim Jong-il means that the people have to be combined with the correct leadership[20]. This emphasized recognition of Kim Jong-il about the absolute leadership, so to speak, the inviolable status of Kim Il-sung, could be found evenly in the process of undertaking the task of guiding the films. The contentions of Kim Jong-il in 'On the Art of the Cinema' can be justified by some principles of 'Juche Idea'[21]. 'On the Art of the Cinema' has been influential greatly in the field of films of North Korea because Kim Jong-il directly authored this book, taking the principles of 'Juche Idea' as the major theoretical guidelines of this book. 'On the Art of the Cinema' that has concrete theory and practical guidelines for making films in North Korea, consists of 8 chapters.

Table 1. The frame of 'On the Art of the Cinema' from Kim Jong-il[22]

Chapter	Title	Contents
1	Life and literature	The position of culture and art in human life, the nature of literature
2	Film and production	The mission and position of producer, subjective production system
3	Personality and actor	The theoretical and practical issues that arise from the acting
4	Image and photographing	The development of camera technique
5	Screen and art	The film art (make-up, costumes, props and so on)

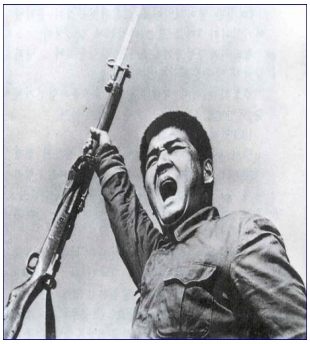
[19] http://www1.korea-np.co.jp/pk/062nd_issue/98092410.htm (12 Oct. 2012)
[20] Lee Jong Seok, *op.cit.*, p. 131
[21] Choi Cheok Ho, *op.cit.*, p. 191
[22] Editorial Department from Yonhap News, *op.cit.*, p. 293~294

Chapter	Title	Contents
6	Scene and music	The importance, role and effectiveness of film music
7	Art and creation	The principle of film-creation (for revolutionizing process of film-making)
8	Creation and directing	The new directing system to meet the needs of revolutionary creation

All students who study literature in North Korea must read 'On the Art of the Cinema', it being regarded as their indispensable companion. A variety of literary theory presented in North Korea has been based on the contents of this book.

In addition, Kim Jong-il directly participated in the production of some films. As the representative works from Kim Jong-il, there are 'Sea of Blood (피바다)' that was filmed in 1969, 'The Destiny of a Self-Reliant Soldier (한 자위단원의 운명)' from 1970, 'The Flower Girl (꽃파는 처녀)' from the year of 1972 and so on.

The Flower Girl



The Destiny of a Self-Reliant Soldier

Sea of Blood

These films are regarded as the most important works in the field of culture and art in North Korea. They symbolize the fact that Kim Il-sung and his partisans struggled bravely against the Empire of Japan in Manchuria. Especially, 'The Flower Girl' was awarded the special prize at the 18th Karlovy Vary International Film Festival in the year of 1972[23]. This is one of North Korea's most proud films. Most of North Korean films have been made to emphasize the revolutionary tradition and to implant it in the North Korean people's mind. Especially, one of the revolutionary traditions, anti-Japanese armed struggle exercised a great influence on the systematization and development of 'Juche Idea'. The experience of anti-Japanese struggle from Kim Il-sung has been treated importantly in the society of North Korea. For example, the starting point of the North Korean contemporary history is considered by the regime of

[23] Kim Sung Bo, Ki Kwang Seo and Lee Sin Cheol, *The North Korean Modern History*, (Seoul: Woong-jin Books, 2011), p. 220

North Korea as October 1926, when was organized 'Down-With-Imperialism Union (타도 제국주의 동맹)' by Kim Il-sung[24]. In plus, Kim Il-sung considered the group that had struggled against the Empire of Japan as guerrilla, as the major dominant political group in the process of systematization about 'Juche Idea'. As an example, several North Korean films imbued with the revolutionary tradition are introduced below.

The Flower Girl (꽃파는 처녀)

According to official North Korean sources, 'The Flower Girl' is a North Korean revolutionary genre theatrical performance, written by Kim Il-sung himself when he struggled for the rural revolution in Manchuria. It was also made into a novel and a film[25].

This film was based on the anti-Japanese armed struggle from the period between the late 1920s and the early 1930s. There is a poor girl who has a name, 'Kkot Bun Yi (꽃분이)' in a rural place. She sells flowers everyday to take care of her family. Her mother is very sick, being in the landlord's debt. In this film, the family of 'Kkot Bun Yi' is described as the exploited class and the landlord squeezes money from poor peasants just like the family of 'Kkot Bun Yi'. She makes a lot of effort for the sake of her family, but her mother and sister lose their life tragically. To make her more miserable, 'Kkot Bun Yi' is locked up by the landlord. But her brother who joined the revolution armed guerrilla comes back home and finds out the tragic affair of his family. He organizes a group of villagers to overthrow the landlord.[26] A simple plot of this film is above. This film, 'The Flower Girl' follows well the principle of North Korean revolutionary tradition as well as it is really a suitable film for the guideline on the film-policy from Kim Jong-il. Now the North Korean regime regards this film as 'a shining example of revolutionary art and literature from the North Korean film history'[27]. The literary history of North Korea appraised this film as follows. "This film shows sincerely imposed misery and suffering of a nation that loses independence, exposing entirely the brutality of Japanese imperialists and the reactionary nature of the landlord. This film gives a firm explanation of the necessity of indispensable revolution to find back independence."[28]

Sea of Blood (피바다)

The origin of this film came from Kim Il-sung and it is known that he wrote himself in Manchuria in August 1936. Of course, this film praise brilliantly

[24] An Chan Il, *The End of Juche Idea*, (Seoul: Ul Ryu Culture, 1997), p. 106
[25] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Flower_Girl (12 Oct. 2012)
[26] Choi Cheok Ho, *op.cit.*, p. 78
[27] Choi Cheok Ho, *op.cit.*, p. 79
[28] Hong Seong Am, "The Subjective Literary Theory and the Novel Literature of North Korea" *The Modern Novel Research*, Nr.7 (Suwon: The Society of Korean Fiction, 1997), p. 369

the anti-Japanese guerrilla activities of Kim Il-sung and through the pain suffered by the Japanese Empire, the necessity of revolution is emphasized strongly in this film, 'Sea of Blood'[29]. Kim Jong-il began his literary revolution along with the production of this film in North Korea. Precisely, Kim Jong-il made the first step in the process of revolutionizing film-art, with producing a anti-Japanese revolutionary film, 'Sea of Blood' in the year of 1969[30]. This film is still shown widely in North Korea. Frankly speaking, this film is a kind of war hagiography that can give Kim Il-sung exaggerated absolute dignity of victories over Japan in the 1930s[31].

The ideological achievement of this film is carried out by the process of a rural ordinary woman to finally grow into a revolutionary who can organize and mobilize the masses on the revolutionary struggle. Her name is 'Choi Sun Nye (최순녀)' and she lives in the 1930s era of suffering by the exploitation of the Empire of Japan. She muddles through the bitters of life, but she awakes step by step to the necessity of revolution[32]. This film is described by the literary history of North Korea as follows. "The film <Sea of Blood> shows well that the Japanese imperialists were the most devious and cruel invaders and looters. And this film emphasizes that we have to fight to the end against these imperialists and they have to be swept away without exception."[33] This film also emphasizes strongly on the North Korean revolutionary tradition like the film 'The Flower Girl'. This film is also defined clearly as an anti-imperialistic revolution film.

The Destiny of a Self-Reliant Soldier (한 자위단원의 운명)

The revolutionary ideal of this film is implemented through the life of 'Gap Ryong (갑룡)'[34]. 'The Destiny of a Self-Reliant Soldier' shows well the process of his becoming an autonomous communist revolutionary, as well as a symbol or an archetype of North Korean communism. In being transformed from a naive rural man into an active soldier through his revolutionary struggle against the oppression and exploitation of Japanese imperialists, 'Gap Ryong' illustrates how an average man can come to typify 'communist human' in this film. As an embodiment of communist solidarity and revolutionary opposition against reactionary elements, 'Gab Ryong' is a new human as envisioned by the North Korean leader Kim Il-sung[35]. The firm determination in his struggle against

---

[29] Editorial Department from Yonhap News, *op.cit.*, p. 295

[30] Choi Cheok Ho, *op.cit.*, p. 65~66

[31] http://www.guardian.co.uk/film/2003/apr/04/artsfeatures1 (14 Oct. 2012)

[32] Hong Seong Am, *op.cit.*, p. 356

[33] Hong Seong Am, *op.cit.*, p. 369

[34] Hong Seong Am, *op.cit.*, p. 363

[35] Song Myung Hee, "A Study of the Construction of Communist Humanity and the Typical Character of North Korean Communism through an Analysis of the North Korean Novel, The Destiny of a Self-Reliant Soldier" *The Korean Literary Theory and Criticism*, Nr.13 (Seoul: The Society of Korean Literary Theory and Criticism, 2001), p. 143

Japanese imperialists in this film might be regarded as the dedication of the North Korean people to construct a communist country based on the subjective consciousness.

A common feature of these 3 films can be found in the process of overcoming a severe trial by ordinary rural heroes. Due to the exploitation of the Japanese imperialists and reactionaries, these ordinary characters of these films inevitably have to become a revolutionary, struggling against imperialists and the landlord (capitalists). 'The Destiny of a Self-Reliant Soldier' also equally values the revolutionary tradition above everything else, just like two films that were mentioned earlier. Although 'Gab Ryong' also comes in a miserable situation like the others, 'Kkot Bun Yi' and 'Choi Sun Nye', in the long run he can find the social self-consciousness and accomplish the revolutionary self-fulfillment.

In North Korea the film has a social significance, not just being an artistic genre. The North Korean films are rather emphasized on the propaganda-function than the artistic function for impressing the audience. These unprecedented features of North Korean films are as follows.

(1) The idolization of the Great Leader, Kim Il-sung

Depicting anti-Japanese or anti-American revolutionary struggles from Kim Il-sung, the films have upgraded his perfect leader image in the society of North Korea. Most of North Korean film has contents that are based on 'Juche Idea' for justifying absolutized power of Kim Il-sung.

(2) The socialized large family that is called as 'North Korea'; traditional order is strongly emphasized

In the North Korean films, the whole society of North Korea has been regarded as a big family that is based on some Korean traditional orders such as Confucian filial piety and hierarchical order. The films have made the people consider unconsciously Kim Il-sung as a father from a patriarchal family.

(3) The socialist heroism

In North Korea heroism is divided into two parts, the personal and popular heroism. The personal heroism is equated with the selfishness of capitalism in the North Korean society, therefore it is completely impugned[36]. The North Korean films depict persons who demonstrate bravery and sacrifice for collective, as a real hero.

(4) The revolutionary optimism

The North Korean regime has squeezed the films into a pattern. In the North Korean films revolutions always have to be realized successfully and reactionary persons or systems have to be abolished eventually. In plus, mainly the peasant or working-class have taken leading character in the films. Through their revolutionary movement, revolutions can be justified and the superiority of the communist system can be inspired in the North Korean films.

[36] Lee Kyung Sik, *op.cit.*, p.180

(5) The emphasis on the importance of film music (soundtrack)

In the North Korean films, film music (soundtrack) is used frequently. Kim Jong-il was very emphatic on the importance of film music, mentioning himself "Film without music is not a film"[37]. In order to stimulate efficiently the mob spirit (mass psychology) through the film, the film music to understand easily for the people is required in the process of making film in North Korea. The songs, especially with lyric lines are inserted frequently in the films. The film music with lyric lines might be capable of being spread quickly among the people just like a popular song. Although it seems that most of North Korean film music is simple and sometimes ludicrous, they exhibit their powerful force to captivate the people. The film music has a powerful force to appeal to the public in North Korea.

(6) The well-developed film distribution system

The North Korean films have a unique feature in the process of distributing. The film with a excellent quality (the film that loyally follows the 'On the Art of the Cinema' of Kim Jong-il) is showed frequently, being used as a tool for the study training under the command of the party. After watching a film that is recommended by the party, the people must go through the process of discussion and should memorize some important ideological contents[38]. Surprisingly, in North Korea the film distribution system has been widely deployed well. It is known that approximately one thousand movie facilities, including small movie houses can be found in almost all parts of North Korea. As the places to watch films besides movie theaters, in North Korea there are city cultural centers, factories, enterprises, cooperative farms, students-halls and so on[39]. In other words, the people are forced to watch the films that are produced under the full supervision of the North Korean regime. Under these circumstances, it may be found an interesting North Korean strategy. The well-developed film distribution system of North Korean regime might be regarded as the effort in developing a close and direct relationship between the leading group (or leader) and the people. Through the film screen, the leading group can carry out easily the direct communication with the people. It may be considered that the North Korean regime convinced or forced the people to watch films in order to transmit more efficiently the political direction to the North Korean people. In other words, the North Korean leading group has built a noticeable political system by means of a direct relationship between them and the people, due to the high level of the propaganda cinematic policy. For reference, due to the capacity of this system to directly connect the people to the leading group, it might be more easy to be installed a structure of cult of personality. Based on this phenomenon, it seems that the film of North Korea has functioned as a major strategic propaganda tool to spread and educate the ruling ideology of Kim family and as the medium to promote the communication with the public.

---

[37] Chung Soo Yun, *op.cit*., p. 631

[38] Chung Soo Yun, *op.cit*., p. 635

[39] http://unibook.unikorea.go.kr/?sub_num=68 (11 Oct. 2012)

(7) The seed theory

The kernel of 'On the Art of the Cinema' is 'the seed theory (종자론)'. In the process of making a film in North Korea, this is the most fundamental theory. They say, the seed is a kernel of a film, being required in the production of films. In other words, if we were to regard a literary and artistic work as a kind of physical body, the seed would be regarded as the nucleus of life[40]. Kim Jong-il mentioned, "the ideological kernel of a film-production is the seed which the director and all the other creative workers should bring into flower through their collective efforts and wisdom. It is not only the basis of the interpretation by individual creative workers, but also the foundation on which they all combine to produce one single cinematic presentation. When all interpretations are conducted on the basis of one seed, they form the components of one cinematic presentation because they are built on the same foundation, although various forms of presentation are created by different artists with different personalities. Therefore, the director should be very careful that none of the creative team loses the seed or introduces anything which has nothing to do with it".[41] Through his opinion, we are able to guess to some extent about the seed that he mentioned. Frankly speaking, the seed can be explained as a fundamental consciousness in the process of creating literary works, like the films. Before creating literary works, firstly the seed is to be determined in the consciousness of director as well as creative team. In addition, this seed should be able to contribute to the ruling ideology of North Korea[42]. For example, if we were to consider a film, 'Sea of Blood', the seed of this film would be that 'the sea of blood covered with exploitation' should be switched to 'the sea of blood covered with struggle and revolution'. The seed of the film, 'The Destiny of a Self-Reliant Soldier' would be explained as, 'whether or not Gap Ryong participates in the revolutionary movement, he dies'[43]. This theory has contributed a lot to be transformed the North Korean films into the specialized films with propaganda elements.

There are several mirrors that can reflect the society of North Korea. One of them might be the film. The North Korean films have revealed the way of communication with the people. The film has been controlled and manipulated under the full direction of the North Korean regime. The efforts of Kim Jong-il to transform the people into a revolutionized human through propaganda film-making, could strengthen his political position in the process of power succession. In addition, his writing of a book, 'On the Art of the Cinema' reinforced his political and social position in the North Korean political arena and planted a firm leadership image of Kim Jong-il in his father's mind. This book still serves as a textbook in the field of film in North Korea.

It was researched what are the roles and functions of the films in relation to propaganda strategies in North Korea. The film is really important as a tool of the

[40] Hong Seong Am, *op.cit.*, p. 351~352
[41] Kim Jong-il, *op.cit.*, p. 12
[42] Hong Seong Am, *op.cit.*, p. 354
[43] Choi Cheok Ho, *op.cit.*, p. 67

North Korean regime to transform the people into a ideal socialist member of a big family country, North Korea. As a general point of view, the North Korean film can't be assessed properly. To understand the characteristics of the North Korean film, we need to care about some peculiarities of their film as an ideological weapon. Without sufficient understanding these peculiarities, the North Korean films will always remain like 'strange films', 'bloody films' or 'dowdy films' to us. One of communicational forms to transmit ideologies of leaders in North Korea, the film is worth researching enough.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

An Chan Il, *The End of Juche Idea*, (Seoul: Ul Ryu Culture, 1997)

Choi Cheok Ho, *The History of Cinema in North Korea*, (Seoul: Jib Mun Dang, 2000)

Chung Soo Yun, "A Study on the Existence in South Korea for North Korea" *Korean Thought and Culture,* Nr.54 (Seoul: The Society of Korean Thought and Culture, 2010)

Editorial Department from Yonhap News, *The Anthology of 400 North Korean terms*, (Seoul: Yonhap News, 1999)

Hong Seong Am, "The Subjective Literary Theory and the Novel Literature of North Korea" *The Modern Novel Research*, Nr.7 (Suwon: The Society of Korean Fiction, 1997)

Kang Sin Chang, *The Principles of Study about North Korea*, (Seoul: Ul Ryu Culture, 1998)

Kim Jong-il, *The Cinema and Directing*, (Pyongyang: Foreign Language Publishing House, 1987)

Kim Sung Bo, Ki Kwang Seo and Lee Sin Cheol, *The North Korean Modern History*, (Seoul: Woong-jin Books, 2011)

Lee Jong Seok, *The Understanding of Modern North Korea*, (Seoul: History Criticism, 2005)

Lee Kyung Sik, "The Theory and Characteristic of North Korea's Movie" *The Movie*, Vol.4, Nr.1 (Busan: The Film Institute of Busan National University, 2011)

Lee Young Mi, "A Study on the Literature as a Propaganda Medium for the Political System of North Korea during the Liberation Period" *The Modern Novel Research*, Nr.19 (Suwon: The Society of Korean Fiction, 2003), p. 271. Quoted in Harold D.Lasswell, "The Theory of Political Propaganda" *American Political Science Review,* Nr. 21 (1927)

Rajendra K. Sharma and Rachana Sharma, *Social Psychology*, (New Delhi: Atlantic, 1997)

Seo Dae Suk, *Leaders from Modern North Korea*, (Seoul: Eulyoo, 2000)
Song Myung Hee, "A Study of the Construction of Communist Humanity and the Typical Character of North Korean Communism through an Analysis of the North Korean Novel, The Destiny of a Self-Reliant Soldier" *The Korean Literary Theory and Criticism*, Nr. 13 (Seoul: The Society of Korean Literary Theory and Criticism, 2001)
Yeom Hong Cheol, "Positive Analysis on Domestic and Foreign Policy of North Korea in the past 10 years" *Korea Policy Report*, Vol.21, Nr.2 (1987), p. 293. Quoted in Zagoria Donald.S, *The Sino-Soviet Conflict, 1956~1961*, (Princeton:Princeton University Press, 1962)

Linkography

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kim_Jong-il
http://www.amazon.com/On-Art-Cinema-Kim-Jong/dp/0898756138
http://www1.korea-np.co.jp/pk/062nd_issue/98092410.htm
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Flower_Girl
http://www.guardian.co.uk/film/2003/apr/04/artsfeatures1
http://unibook.unikorea.go.kr/?sub_num=68

STUDIA UBB PHILOLOGIA, LVIII, 1, 2013, p. 245 - 255
(RECOMMENDED CITATION)

THE CRISIS OF IDENTITY IN JOY KOGAWA'S *OBASAN*

OANA-MEDA PĂLOȘANU[*]

ABSTRACT. ***The Crisis of Identity in Joy Kogawa's Obasan***. The crisis of identity in Joy Kogawa's Obasan. The primary desideratum of this study is to analyze how the Japanese Weltanschauung and sense of self are constituted under the incidence of cultural secessionism and pan-generational conflict and to identify the role of silence as a specific mechanism in human interaction. This paper will be focusing on is a member of the Japanese diaspora in Canada whose identity development and cultural assimilation were compromised by the series of socio-political events consequential to the commencement of World War II and the disposition of power allegiances of the belligerent states. The focus will be on elements pertaining to social ostracism which render characters' assumption of a new ipseity problematic and on how their catharsis occurs only after an enantiodromia[1], a deep questioning of one's cultural and racial heritage. The specific cultural dialogism of the novel endorses a paradoxical construction of identity, dominated by heteroglossia, heterogeneity and antagonistic systems of representation. Communicational patterns divergent from the Eurocentric standard create a substantially different interactional template for the protagonists, coalescing silence and the principle of non-verbal communication as staples of dialogism and synergy. The antagonistic linguistic proclivity of the characters illustrates the binary archetype of stone-water, immobility-fluidity, which is an isochronous theme in Japanese literature through language.

Keywords: Identity, Silence, Language.

REZUMAT. ***Criza identității în "Obasan" de Joy Kogawa*.** Principalul deziderat al acestui studiu este o analiză a modului în care Weltanschaungul Japonez și percepția sinelui se constituie sub incidența secesionismului cultural și al conflictului dintre generații, și în același timp să identific rolul liniștii ca mecansim specific interacțiunii interumane. Autoarea pe care se axează lucrarea de față este membră a diasporei japoneze din Canada, a cărei asumpție identitară și asimilare culturală au fost compromise de seria de evenimente socio-politice rezultate din declanșarea celui de-al Doilea Război Mondial și de dispunerea alianțelor între statele beligerente. Accentul va cădea pe elemente ale ostracizării sociale care fac asumpția unei noi identități problematică pentru personaje și asupra modului în care experiența catarică devine posibilă doar ca urmare a unei enantiodromii și a unei interogări profunde a moștenirii culturale și rasiale. Dialogismul cultural specific romanului favorizează o paradoxală construcție a identității, dominată de pluralitate de voci, eterogenitate

[*] Ph. D Student of the English Department of the Babeș- Bolyai University. E-mail: meda_wan@yahoo.com.

[1] The manifestation of the unconscious opposite. This phenomenon occurs when the conscious is dominated by a unilateral extreme tendency to such a degree that it leads to the appearance of an equally strong unconscious counter-position manifested through the inhibition of conscious behavior.

și de sisteme antagoniste de reprezentare. Tiparele comunicaționale divergente de la standardul eurocentric crează un șablon interacțional profund diferit pentru protagoniști, reunind liniștea și principiul comunicării non-verbale ca modele de dialogism și sinergie. În același timp, înclinația lingvistică antitetică a personajelor ilustrază arhetipul binar piatră-apă, imobilitate-fluiditate, o temă izocronă în literatura japoneză.

Cuvinte-cheie: identitate, liniște, limbaj

The text chosen as the focus of this analysis is Joy Kogawa's "Obasan", published in 1981, a novel which traces the persecutions and injustice committed against the members of the Japanese diaspora in Canada during and after the Second World War. The novel explores several themes of consequence to character development such as: the way in which prejudice, sexuality and the figure of the mother enforce the distinctive character of the narrator protagonist, as well as the role of physical and cultural landscape in construing identity. The novel's protagonists' destinies are brought under the incidence of a series of socio-political events which render their initial development pattern void. They are immigrants from Japan who have left their homeland in order to construe a better future for their families without necessarily wanting to accrue the different cultural and mental constructions specific to that area, thus enflaming those holding onto the very reductionist Eurocentric values.

Upon the commencement of the Second World War an already post-belligerent society was not yet prepared to accept the consequences of a new conflict, and therefore an active process of isolating the different at the periphery of society had already begun by the time the incidents at pearl Harbor had led people's suspicion to an unprecedented level of paroxysm resulting in mounting inter-racial conflicts. Passive rejection shifted towards active forms of ostracism and an undiscriminating attack on Asian culture, history and individuality, culminating in the relocation of entire layers of this diaspora into work camps or expatriation, regardless of generation or national affiliation.

The true dimension of the injustice of internment of the Japanese is poignantly illustrated by Joy Kogawa's "Obasan", "an elided chapter in Canadian history as a suppressed truth that requires unveiling"[2] which traces the development of Naomi Nakane a *Nikkei* (second generation of Japanese immigrants) child, forced to adapt to psychological and physical abuse in a period of rapidly shifting social mentalities. The novel opens in 1972 with Naomi and her uncle Isamu's ceremonial yearly visit to the coulee whose significance Naomi does not learn until the end of the novel. Upon her uncle's death, she is reunited with her two aunts and their different attitudes towards the past stir up Naomi's own memories of which most poignant are the loss of her mother, the abuse of Mr. Gower, the need to relocate, growing interracial

[2] Goldman Marlene. *Rewriting Apocalypse in Canadian Fiction*, Quebec: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005, p. 186.

hostilities, confusion and moments of serenity with her family. On the eve of his funeral, Naomi and her brother Stephen are allowed to know of the fate of their mother which greatly contributes to the protagonist's ability to accept the events of the past as experiences which have shaped her present development.

The title, "Obasan" refers to Ayako Nakane, the silent aunt whose existence is reduced to a series of cryptic riddles with which she not only comforts others, but attempts to find answers and justifications for the injustice of the past. However, in Japanese "Obasan" does not only refer to the word "aunt", but it can be used as an appellative for all women. Therefore, according to Gayle Fujita the title illustrates "the connectedness of all women's lives- Naomi, her mother, her two aunts"[3] and by extension, of the entire Japanese diaspora. Her voice particularly speaks for the first generation of Japanese immigrants who have taken the roles of "the silences that speak from stone"[4]. Stone, through its ability to endure the erosion of time is here used symbolically to indicate the endurance of a way of life despite the pressure exercised by a hostile environment. By extension, her attitude can be traced to varying degrees in all protagonists of the novel as a common link in their cultural heritage.

Currently a school teacher in Canada, Naomi has internalized a comingled pain of experience and recollection enforced by the dissolution of her family and way of life, uprooting and displacement as a consequence of governmental decrees. She identifies the events of her past and the case of her people as being coordinated on the axes of two types of silence. "There is a silence that cannot speak. There is a silence that will not speak"[5] The first type of silence is involuntary, one that cannot be broken unless the protagonist manages to give coherence to the series of events which have shaped her development. This is also Obasan's silence, "large and powerful"[6], and by extension, the silence of history and the lack of social response to the unfair handling of the delicate political situation of the Japanese Canadians. Among them, there are those who will no longer speak, those who refuse to come to terms with the past or those who have died during the war or the internment. Their silence is a tribute to their upheld system of values and beliefs, but for Naomi, silence is both a blessing and a curse. Her childhood is marred by her inability to connect with her mother or to discover the reasons of her absence. Obasan, Emily and Uncle Isamu are rendered silent by her request. "Kodomo no tame", for the sake of the children, they will not reveal the fate of their mother. In an effort to protect, the silent mother refuses to speak of her injuries and we find out about her death only through an intermediary. The book thus becomes "a study in painful silence, in unquestioning but troubled

[3] Fujita, Gayle K. "'To attend the sound of stone'. The sensibility of silence in Obasan". *MELUS* 12.3 (1985) p. 41. in Hedges Elaine, Fisher Fishkin, Shelley. *Listening to Silences: New Essays in Feminist Criticism*, Great Britain: Oxford University Press, 1994, p. 115.
[4] Kogawa. Joy. *Obasan*. New York: Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group, 1981, p. 132.
[5] *Ibid*., p. 1.
[6] *Ibid*., p. 14.

obedience to the inevitable"[7]. However, when the silence is eventually broken, she is forced not only to acknowledge the "quiet strength" of the first generation of Japanese Canadians who had taken the full brunt of the internment but also to discover the strings of her own strength as, in order to heal the scars of the past, she must first remember everything and give new meaning to the apparently unexplainable puzzles of her childhood. As a child, her answers are ignored or not answered, as a result of her mother's legacy. Naomi is caught between two irreconcilable paradoxes. She cannot tell of her traumatic experiences because she does not know whether this testimony will not lead to a further estrangement from her mother. Because of this she is not open to knowledge which might aid in her psychological development. Therefore: "Naomi's individual drama is closely caught up in her linguistic anxiety, which comes to serve as a synecdoche for her estrangement-from others, from her cultural origins, from the absent mother who preoccupies her thoughts, from her past."[8]

Silence in the novel isn't therefore defined by a Eurocentric perception, i.e.as the polar opposite of language and communication, but as the epitome of pensiveness, and the apotheosis of alertness and awareness. Silence does not stand for rejection or acceptation but rather for sensible internalization of the world, a way of being which is considered to be representative for the Japanese. In this respect, Grandma Nakane and Kato Nakane are described as being *yasashi*, not only kind, but also possessing a deep understanding of the world and of inter-human relations which allows them to be adepts of non-verbal communication. Naomi's mother is particularly noteworthy for her absent presence, for the impulses and recollections she generates by means of mere memory. At the same time, it could be inferred that the characters' silence is generated by a certain level of linguistic anxiety. Unlike Grandma Nakane who does not understand the language and dies in the internment camp as a direct consequence of her failure to adapt to the rapidly shifting environment, Naomi, the protagonist, has been immersed in the linguistic environment since birth and should be easily able to communicate. Unlike the first generation of Japanese immigrants who have lived their lives with stoicism and now "disappear into the future, undemanding as dew"[9], Naomi refuses to subject to this apparent vulnerability engendered by her cultural upbringing. However, she is often described as being so silent that her relatives had considered her mute for a long time. At the same time when she does ask about her mother, she is provided with incomplete and elusive answers which not only fail to assure her, but they also deepen the feeling of rejection and guilt which she experiences after the incidents with Mr. Gower. Obasan takes up the role of repository of all things old or about to disappear. Her enigmatic allusions indicate a way of living rooted in passive acceptance and tolerance towards the

[7] Milton, Edith. "Review of Obasan by Joy Kogawa". *New York Times Book Review*, 9:5, 1982, p. 8.
[8] Magnusson, A. Lynne. "Language and Longing in Joy Kogawa's Obasan". *Canadian Literature/Literature Canadienne,* 116 (spring 1988), p. 58.
[9] Kogawa. Joy. *Obasan*. New York: Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group, 1981, p. 132.

vicissitudes of fate. She has been a witness to the full scale of injustice, from the confiscation of the Japanese fishing boats, to their receiving the denomination of yellow peril and being stripped of their rights and citizenship. This represents not only a violation of cultural heritage and national ancestry, but also a denaturation of a system of values which had been carefully protected against the corruption of foreign values; the act takes the form of a "political and spiritual rape"[10], the ultimate form of destruction. For those who have witnessed this devolution of status, all that remains is silence and acceptance, as is the case of Obasan: "The language of her grief is silence. She has learned it well, its idioms, its nuances. Over the years, silence within her small body has grown large and powerful."[11]

When the novel opens, Naomi does not yet understand that her uncle's ceremonial visit to the prairie at the same time every year marks the anniversary of the dropping of the atomic bomb on Nagasaki. Nor does she know anything of the fate of her mother other than that she had left for Japan and never returned. The truth about the past slowly starts to unfurl as the death of her uncle Isamu brings together Obasan and Emily, one, a repository of memories and pains which only rarely escape the mask of propriety, the other, an activist for the rights of the Japanese diaspora, illustrating how: "the thematics and poetics of silence are tightly interwoven(…) The narrator negotiates between voicelessness and vociferousness, embodied respectively by her two aunts."[12] The tragic tone of the events about to be brought to light is in tone with the event which has prefaced this encounter. According to Erica Gottlieb, the spatio-temporal dimension of the novel corresponds to what the Japanese culture associates with mourning. According to Buddhism, this temporal span ranges from the time of a person's death to the moment of the funeral which are also the temporal coordinates of the novel, the present time from which the flow of memory and reminiscence occurs. The former tantalizes the reader with disparaged fragments of the past while the latter reconstructs this past from historical evidence showing how 20000 people were forced to abandon their homes and possessions in order to relocate to concentration camps or ghost towns where they could either be exterminated through labor exhaustion and malnutrition or otherwise be kept under close scrutiny. Branded as traitors, these people were denied the rights of citizenship regardless of the fact that they had been born as Canadian citizens to begin with. Justice and injustice take on entirely different meanings in this new socio-political context. It is only after many years of political activism that the members of the Japanese diaspora can reclaim their heritage and their citizenship. While some, like Obasan, have accepted their fate and endure the injustice as a fait accompli, Aunt Emily becomes a true "word

[10] Manlyn Russell Rose. "Politics into Art: Kogawa's 'Obasan' and the Rhetoric of Fiction". *Mosaic: A Journal for the Interdisciplinary Study of Literature*, 21.3 (1988), p. 224.
[11] Kogawa. Joy. *Obasan*. New York: Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group, 1981, p. 17.
[12] Cheung, King Kok. *Articulate Silences: Hisaye Yamamoto, Maxine Hong Kingston, Joy Kogawa*, New York: Cornell University Press, 1993, p. 114.

warrior"[13], trying to expose the truth behind the series of stereotypes and cultural faults committed as a consequence of mass hysteria. The end of the war has witnessed a continued effort to strengthen national particularities, infrastructure, defense and independence. However, problems such as the reintegration of minorities were left unsolved, in the wake of the more pressuring necessity to reestablish a certain amount of balance to the socio-political and economic climate. This would explain why the problems of the Japanese diaspora have remained unsolved many years after the conflict had been abated and the governments of Canada had issued official apologies for their wrongful treatment of their citizens.

The two aunts' different reactions, one's passive acceptance and the other's active anger can be identified as what Michiko Lambertson identifies as: "the two poles of the Japanese way of thinking. One is a fatalistic attitude of acceptance, endurance and stoicism, and the other is a sense of justice, honour and fair play"[14]. Both attitudes serve to stir up Naomi's memories as she reconstructs her own past of confusion and pain engendered by her being "at the same time the enemy and not the enemy"[15], by the growing interracial tension, by her abuse by Mr. Gower and the subsequent belief that this molestation has torn her bond with her mother. Naomi, the unimposing, tentative narrator's response interweaves reminiscence with the political background, incorporating elements belonging to both her aunts' attitudes and synthetizing them in a relatively balanced perspective: "How different, my two aunts are. One lives in sound, the other in stone. Obasan's language remains deeply underground but Aunt Emily, BA, MA, is a word warrior."[16]. She becomes a tentative narrator, neither condoning to Obasan's apparent refusal to communicate, nor willing to acknowledge the whole range of events which have affected her past because of their range of psychological effects.

Her recollection, in its innocence and naturalness, does not overlap with Emily's facts, but rather acts as a living testimonial, enhancing the reader's understanding of the situation as it is filtered through eyes that are not prejudiced and transforming the author's argument against injustice and racism into a higher form of art. Thus:" the novel must be heard (…) for exposing the viciousness of the racist horror, embodying the beauty that somehow wonderfully survives."[17]Apparently Kato Nakane's absent presence is explained only at the end of the novel, when her letters expostulating the horrors at Nagasaki, are finally allowed to reach the ears of her children. Throughout the text we deal only with Naomi's memories and her constant questions regarding her, questions eventually abandoned because the protagonist realizes that:" the

[13] Kogawa. Joy. *Obasan*. New York: Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group, 1981, p. 39.
[14] Lambertson, Michiko. "Review of Obasan, by Joy Kogawa". *Canadian Women Studies*, 4:2, 1982, p. 94.
[15] Kogawa. Joy. *Obasan*. New York: Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group, 1981, p. 82.
[16] *Ibid*. p. 39.
[17] Milton, Edith. "Unnecessary Precautions". *The New York Times Book Review*, September 5, 1982, pp. 8-17, in Trudeau, Lawrence J. *Asian American literature: reviews and criticism of works by American writers of Asian descent*, Michigan: Gale Research, 1999, p. 233.

greater my urgency to know, the thicker their silences have always been"[18]. In this respect she acts as a "mamori" a good luck charm whose invocation aids its possessor in achieving internal balance. The fact that her story is only reconstructed by means of recollection gives her an aura of supernatural. Often, Naomi addresses her as she would a governing deity in a tone that is both full of reverence and imprecation:" Mother, I am listening… Assist me to hear you. You are tide rushing moonward."[19] Kato Nakane's last acts enshroud her in an aura of superhuman power which seems to warrant this form of address. Despite suffering horrible disfigurement because of exposure to radiation, she acts as a guardian spirit, protecting the children under her care, shielding them form harm as a faithful *mamori*.

The moment of solving a decades' question is rendered in short, yet congenial sentences, alleviating the mystery which had challenged the protagonist's understanding of the complexities of the socio-political situation of the time. The information is given in a very Japanese like linguistic style, factual sentences, each illustrating a single piece of information, as if a stream of representations of the horrors witnessed would be too much to endure. Besides a short reference to her mother's disfigurement and physical effects of radiation immediately after the explosion, much of the suffering ensuing is kept under silence. The depiction is not aimed to shock, or to impose. Aunt Emily agrees that the truth must be brought to consciousness because: "If you deny any of [your history] off, you're an amputee…Don't deny the past"[20] Only after learning the truth about her mother can Naomi meaningfully reconstruct and internalize the traumatic experiences of her past and accept her individuality as a product of the prejudiced circumstances which have shaped her becoming. Only now does she comprehend that "the song of mourning is not a lifelong song"[21] and that the past can be embraced as a source of growth and experience in spite of its harsh and painful nature. However, although she has accepted her heritage, her race remains an equally heavy burden and her construction and assumption of identity is associated with a sense of guilt. This goes against the principle of living one's life with pride, a basic tenet of Japanese philosophy best illustrated by Obasan's attitude. Whatever misfortune one experiences in the present is likely to be an echo of one's past mistakes, and although Naomi's family adheres to Christian beliefs, it is difficult to find valid reasons for their silence, besides this deeply rooted spiritual trait.

Naomi's torments can be seen as a small scale reproduction of the fate of the Japanese diaspora in Canada, a haunting experience which, unless solved, will not allow those directly affected to regain control over their lives. As a child, she is abused by the neighboring Mr. Gower, which not only tarnishes her relationship with her mother by imposing secrecy as necessary, but it also contributes to her

[18] Kogawa. Joy. *Obasan*. New York: Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group, 1981, p. 55.
[19] *Ibid*., p. 289.
[20] *Ibid*., p. 60.
[21] *Ibid*., p. 295.

increasing feeling of inadequacy. Naomi is admonished to not tell her mother of Mr. Gower's abuse and similarly, during the internment: "all cards and letters are censored. Not a word from the camps makes the papers"[22]. In many ways this lack of communication and information becomes a form of psychological oppression forcing the Japanese into a shamed silence.

It is to this premise that Aunt Emily's ceaseless militancy for rights can be attributed. On the other hand, Ayako Nakane, her psychological counterpart, allows time to do its work and remains encrusted in her docile and impotent position. While for Emily "The past is the future"[23], for Obasan the past is something to be deeply buried. Relevant in this sense is the scene in which she goes to the attic with Naomi, only to discover that the place had been taken over by erosion and spiders. That is the consequence of silence. Old things are forgotten and, under the pressure of time, are lost to decay, while only the spiders continue to weave their stories and their webs similarly to the way in which the story of Naomi is constructed from the inside out, from the center to the edges. Only once she has accepted the past from the inside, can she hear her mother's voice once more. Recollection and memory, coupled with the snippets of history and documentary evidence brought together by Aunt Emily help construct not only Naomi's but also the Japanese's past as a daunting puzzle. Only when all the pieces are brought together and the value of the past is acquiesced in its entirety can the truth about the horrors of Nagasaki be told. Ayako Nakane agrees that "the time of forgetting is now come"[24]. It is interesting to note the mentality behind this utterance. Only by talking, by breaking the silence can both Naomi and the Japanese recover their ipseity. The narrator has to undergo a painful enantiodromia in order to reach this conclusion: "Gentle Mother, we were lost together in our silences. Our wordlessness was our mutual destruction."[25] Therefore one of the central themes of the novel can be identified as "the importance of communication and the danger of keeping silent"[26].

Japanese culture is impacted by its adherence to Zen Buddhism which is built around the principle of void, lack and erosion; it therefore never acquiesces to an identity without implying its dissolution, its lacks, and the absent presences which sets it apart from other entities. Therefore, rather than calling it a time of unveiling or acceptance, Obasan calls it a moment of forgetfulness. It is implied that a thing cannot be acquiesced solely in terms of its immanence without taking into account its transcendence. The clearest sign of an entity's existence is the possibility and the privilege of its terminating its existence, of its being eventually forgotten, because nothing can be discarded without having been acquiesced.

[22] *Ibid*., 120.
[23] *Ibid*., p. 51.
[24] *Ibid*., p. 36.
[25] *Ibid*, p. 291.
[26] Low, David. "Review of Obasan by Joy Kogawa". *Bridge,* 8:3 (1983), p. 22.

In this respect, the novel acquire distinct interpretations in the case of a Eurocentric and an Oriental reading, while the protagonists of the novel become mere appendages to an augmented cultural awareness and natural sensitivity. Silence- multi-layered and illustrating a condensation of multiple forms of oppression- can be viewed either as an internalization of Occidental stereotypes or as a perpetuation of a specific Japanese intuition, affording different interpretations of the behavioral patterns of the protagonists. The specific cultural dialogism of the novel endorses a paradoxical construction of identity, dominated by heteroglossia, heterogeneity and antagonistic systems of representation. Communicational patterns divergent from the Eurocentric standard create a substantially different interactional template for the protagonists, coalescing silence and the principle of non-verbal communication as staples of dialogism and synergy. The antagonistic linguistic proclivity of the characters illustrates the binary archetype of stone-water, immobility-fluidity, which is an isochronous theme in Japanese literature through language: Obasan's language illustrates, passivity, the defensive, the disempowered status afforded to her by her cultural upbringing, the safety of invisibility and the paradox of destiny, Emily's language embodies active identity construction, overlapping her Canadian heritage to her Japanese ancestry.

The novel proves to be challenging if the reader attempts to decipher the nexus of inbuilt layers of historical and social fact. The national, social, personal and cultural co-mingle in order to offer an encompassing image of the Japanese crisis during and after the War. Ambiguity and paradox in the text represent necessary steps of initiation if one is to be able to fully comprehend the technique of silence in the novel, silence transposed in the form of non-verbal communication, a type of interaction which touches the sensible and the emotional rather than the intellectual. Kogawa's particular style incorporates documentary evidence and newspaper articles as testimonials to the events during the internment. However, these act to mislead the population as to the conditions to which the Japanese are forced to adapt or present the situation in objective or ambiguous terms. This has rendered the public opinion insensible to human drama which, although did not parallel the destruction and loss of lives during the war as a whole, is equally painful and disturbing for those who have experienced it. The novel's political overtone and criticism becomes clearly visible. Regardless of how many times Aunt Emily scribbles "Canadian citizen" over "Japanese race", her desire for acceptance and integration cannot influence higher forms of authority. Her message does not have the power to reach those in power and therefore, her struggle is not much more than Obasan's silent stoicism.

The political situation is particularly unfavorable not only because of the outcome of events during the war, but also because of a fear of interracial mixing "In one breath we are damned for being 'inassimilable' and the next there's fear that we'll 'assimilate' "[27] The level of injustice is even more suffocating because of the

[27] Kogawa. Joy. *Obasan*. New York: Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group, 1981, p. 104.

fact that the laws of expulsion affect only the Japanese. The Germans, due to their Caucasian complexion can more easily integrate in society. Naomi does not understand why this level of ostracism is directed against her, why her idyllic childhood is splintered in fragments as she is forced to relocate as a part of the national effort to isolate the Japanese. Her recollection entices an even greater reaction from the reader as it is deprived of political interest of understanding of the complex strings which have set the series of events in motion. Therefore it is more powerful than Aunt Emily's "paper battles"[28] and more impressing than Obasan's stoic silence. Suffering, caused by social isolation, prejudice, sexual abuse, separation, generates a feeling of dislodgement and inappropriateness which completely challenges the individual's psychological and emotional development because paradoxically, injustice provokes more guilt and an increased feeling of inappropriateness and marginalization in the victim, rather than in those who condone to this type of behavior. Naomi is torn between her adoptive culture and her legacy as a member of the second generation of Japanese immigrants in Canada which forces her to adopt "a nonverbal mode of apprehension summarized by the term attendance"[29]. Attendance here is to be interpreted as silence, represented by communicational anxiety or voicelessness which evince different attitudes according to King-Kok Cheung:" oppressive, inhibitive protective, stoic and attentive"[30], identifiable to different degrees in all the protagonists. Silence in the novel acquires an identity of its own with its own rhythms, messages and idioms.

Reading the novel offers a powerful experience not only because of its realism but also because it brings to the forefront the perspective of the oppressed, of one who has chosen to break the submissive silence surrounding the incident. The novel reveals the Japanese culture, system of values and beliefs in its entire complexity, also providing answers to stereotypes and answers to questions which have been raised as a consequence to the almost exclusive incorporation of a Eurocentric-based, homogenizing outlook on oriental societies. From many points of view the outcome of the book seems not only inevitable, but also necessary. What is characteristic to the Japanese culture and very well represented in the book is the principle of politeness, of not imposing, not being *wagamama:"* We must always honour the wishes of others before our own. To try to meet one's own needs in spite of the wishes of others is to be 'wagamama'- selfish and inconsiderate. Obasan teaches me not to be *wagamama* by always heeding everyone's needs"[31] Obasan, through her demeanor, attempts to not impose, to live like all first generation Japanese have, enduring the ostracism and the feeling of displacement while adapting to the needs

[28] *Ibid*., p. 225.
[29] Fujita, Gayle K. "To Attend the Sound of Stone': The Sensibility of Silence in Obasan." *MELUS* 12:3 (1986), pp. 33-42, in Cheung, King Kok. *Articulate Silences: Hisaye Yamamoto, Maxine Hong Kingston, Joy Kogawa*, New York: Cornell University Press, 1993, p. 128.
[30] Cheung, King Kok. *Articulate Silences: Hisaye Yamamoto, Maxine Hong Kingston, Joy Kogawa*, New York: Cornell University Press, 1993, p. 26.
[31] Kogawa. Joy. *Obasan*. New York: Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group, 1981, p. 149.

and dynamics to an alien culture and linguistic system. For the mainstream culture, this apparent weakness and passivity has turned the Japanese diaspora into an adequate scapegoat in an effort to quell the mounting paroxysm subsequent to the Second World War. However, the last pages of the book are extracted from the Memorandum sent to the Government of Canada by the Cooperative Committee on Japanese Canadians in April 1946, speaking of the tragedy of the Japanese diaspora and the unfairness of their treatment. Thus, without betraying their beliefs and their way of life, by upholding the values subsequent to their upbringing and sensibility, the Japanese have managed to reclaim their status and dignity. Despite the abuse of racism, a way of life set in elements as pregnant in meaning and endurance as silence and stone has managed to emerge victorious from the cultural clash, and it is to this that Kogawa's poetical depiction of the historical event, brings tribute.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Cheung, King Kok. *Articulate Silences: Hisaye Yamamoto, Maxine Hong Kingston, Joy Kogawa*, New York: Cornell University Press, 1993.
2. Fujita, Gayle K. "'To attend the sound of stone'. The sensibility of silence in Obasan". *MELUS* 12.3 (1985), pp. 33-42
3. Hedges Elaine, Fisher Fishkin, Shelley. *Listening to Silences: New Essays in Feminist Criticism*, Great Britain: Oxford University Press, 1994.
4. Goldman Marlene. *Rewriting Apocalypse in Canadian Fiction*, Quebec: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005.
5. Kogawa. Joy. *Obasan*. New York: Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group, 1981.
6. Lambertson Michiko. "Review of Obasan, by Joy Kogawa". *Canadian Women Studies*, 4:2, (1982), pp. 94-95.
7. Low, David. "Review of Obasan by Joy Kogawa". *Bridge,* 8:3 (1983), p. 22.
8. Magnusson, A. Lynne. "Language and Longing in Joy Kogawa's Obasan." *Canadian Literature/Literature Canadienne*, 116 (spring 1988), pp. 58-66.
9. Manlyn, Russell Rose. "Politics into Art: Kogawa's 'Obasan' and the Rhetoric of Fiction". *Mosaic: A Journal for the Interdisciplinary Study of Literature*, 21.3 (1988), pp. 215-26.
10. Milton, Edith. "Review of Obasan by Joy Kogawa". *New York Times Book Review*, 9:5, (1982), pp. 8-17.
11. Trudeau, Lawrence J. *Asian American literature: reviews and criticism of works by American writers of Asian descent*, Michigan: Gale Research, 1999.

STUDIA UBB PHILOLOGIA, LVIII, 1, 2013, p. 257 - 266
(RECOMMENDED CITATION)

REORDERING THE WORLD: PURITY IN YUKIO MISHIMA'S *THE SEA OF FERTILITY*

LOREDANA CĂPĂȚÎNĂ[1]

ABSTRACT. ***Reordering the World: Purity in Yukio Mishima's*** **The Sea of Fertility.** With his last fictional work, Mishima attempts to explore the options one would find available in a desacralised 20th century Japan. Within the background of modernist change and Westernisation, and that of Buddhist belief, his characters adhere to the path of purity by attempting to realign the changing world under their own prerogatives, with the final pupose of preserving identity. In an ultimate application of the *mono no aware* concept, Mishma discerns the essentiality of a short yet meaningful life in contrast with the degradation of passivity. As such, the purpose of this inquiry is to analyse the evolution of the tetralogy within the frame of these circumstances, and the author's perspective on the notion of purity in relation with personal and national identity.

Keywords: purity, modern Japan, Hossō Buddhism, Westernisation, national identity, personal identity, patriotism, authenticity;

REZUMAT. ***Reordonarea lumii: Puritatea în*** **Marea Fertilității** ***lui Yukio Mishima.*** În ultima sa operă de ficțiune, Mishima încearcă explorarea opțiunilor disponibile individului în Japonia desacralizată a secolului XX. Având ca fundal schimbările epocii moderne, influența vestică și cea a credinței Budiste, personajele sale aderă la calea purității, încercând să realinieze lumea după propriile prerogative, cu scopul final de a-și păstra identitatea. Într-o aplicare absolută a conceptului de *mono no aware*, Mishima desluşeşte esențialitatea unei vieți scurte şi semnificative în contrast cu degradarea adusă de pasivitate. Astfel, scopul acestei abordări este de a analiza evoluția tetralogiei în fundalul acestor circumstanțe, şi perspectivele autorului asupra noțiunii de puritate în relație cu identitatea personală și națională.

Cuvinte-cheie: puritate, Japonia modernă, Budismul Hossō, influența vestică, identitate națională, identitate personală, patriotism, autenticitate;

"To take your own ideal and bend the world to it like that. Wouldn't that be a remarkable force? It would be like holding the secret key to life right there in your hand."[2]

---

[1] Graduate of the English and Japanese departments of the Faculty of Letters at Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca. MA student in Irish Studies. Teaching assistant at the Department of Asian Studies, Faculty of Letters, Babeş-Bolyai University. E-mail: capatina.loredana@gmail.com.

[2] Mishima Yukio, *Spring Snow (The Sea of Fertility 1),* trans. Michael Gallagher, Kindle edition, Vintage, 2000, chapter 4, para. 17., loc. 584-85. Retrieved from: amazon.com\kindlestore

With his most accurate depiction of life in 20th century Japan, both from a political and social standpoint, Yukio Mishima displays, in his last work of fiction, *The Sea of Fertility* tetralogy, an undeniable attempt to order the world according to his own principles of propriety. Or rather, he makes use of different critical historical points in Japanese modern history to bring forth four fictional attempts at preserving what can be called his idea of „purity", from both indivudual and nationalistic points of view – all this in an epoch when Japan was „violently Westernised, and yet remained distinguished by certain immutable characteristics."[3]

However, this should not be seen as a „conscious attempt to recover and transcend history by rewriting it"[4], but rather to bring it into focus by the romantic, slightly exaggerated and unquestionably detailed events and descriptions of Mishima's work. While his contemporary, Kenzaburo Ōe, admonishes his work, with special reference to the second volume, *Runaway Horses*, and claims it to be a mere analogue of Mishima's own ritual suicide[5], one cannot simply ignore the implications of fictionalisation, no matter the depth of the author's self-reflection in the particular work. Indeed, it cannot be said that throughout the tetralogy we can ascribe a certain persona that would undeniably pertain to Yukio Mishima. On the contrary, it is rather a stronger possibility that a persona can only be put together by gathering multiple aspects of several of his heroes. By taking a closer look at the construction of the novels, it is not altogether absurd to state that, in fact, there are at least two facets of this possible „character", that have been broken into even more fictional characters. That is, while treating the self-implication of the author in these works, one may deal with a number of „what-ifs", of possible scenarios and courses of action which may or may not influence the flow of personal and national history in essentialy different ways. To be exact, the prime denominator that divides these courses of action, and thus personas (if not of the author, then of the author's different states of mind), is the Wang Yangming concept mentioned in *Runaway Horses*: „To know and not to act is not to know". The inactive, and according to this concept, the very much culpable observer that is Shigekuni Honda, a man who lives a long, intellectual life, but utterly devoid of beauty, comes to embody many of the aspects that cannot be accepted by the traditional Japanese view. But on the other hand, there are the active: the four that Honda believes to be the succesive incarnations of the same person, willingly or not, strive to order the world under their ideals and prerogatives. This struggle to align their surroundings according to their own perception of „purity", along with its ideological and religious undertones, will be dealt with thoroughly in the pages that follow.

[3] M. Yourcernar, *Mishima: A Vision of the Void*, trans. Alberto Manguel, University of Chicago Press, 2001, p. 3

[4] S.J. Napier, "Death and the Emperor: Mishima, Ōe, and the Politics of Betrayal" in *The Journal of Asian Studies*, Association for Asian Studies, Vol. 48, No. 1, 1989, p. 73

[5] *Ibid*.

As such, one cannot attest to any sort of full or nearly full identification of the author with any of the characters of the tetralogy. As Peter Abelsen suggests in his study on Mishima,

> „we should be extra careful and take into consideration that literary self-portraits never quite match the writer's self-image; and even less so if that writer is as brilliant as Mishima was. This incongruity is connected with the *irony of literature*. (...) The greater is his self-knowledge and stylistic skill, the more he will be aware of how much of himself he has left out of the picture. So the ironical fate of the autobiographical writer is that he can never truly *express* himself. (...) To cope with this irony, he may try to put his awareness of it in his work – make the work itself ironical."[6]

While it would be difficult to say that *The Sea of Fertility* is ironic in a satirical sense, Abelsen goes on to argue that his approach might rather be that of Romantic Irony, a more „sophisticated" telling of the story. To be sure, Mishima's approach is indeed teeming with romantic elements, especially considering *Spring Snow* and *Runaway Horses*:

> „In many ways *Runaway Horses* is the supreme example in Mishima's work of a romantic call to arms, an insistence that reality can be destroyed or at least escaped by using correct ideology combined with the transforming powers of imagination."[7]

Idealisation of love and beauty, heroism in evanescence, tragism and martyrdom, all are features which abound in these works and which have brought on the accusations that he was trying to „rewrite history". Despite this, rather than misinformation, it might be that Mishima was trying to render the failings of modern Japan in a dramatic light that would spark popular awareness. Both from this point of view, and that of the work of art, the main purpose might have been simply, as Isao considers his endeavors in *Runaway Horses*, „To flame up, then to be trampled out."[8] More than in his other works (*The Temple of the Golden Pavillion* included, considering that there, the issue is treated otherwise), the aesthetics of ephemerality are brought into scrupulous discussion, and the age-old concept of *mono no aware* gains a larger scope and deeper religious significance.

In order to now address the issue stated before, of the four incarnations pertaining to each of *The Sea of Fertility* volumes intending to „reorder the world" according to their ideas of purity, one must first pin an adequate definition to the notion of „purity". Rather than appointing a standard, dictionary explanation, it becomes clear from the very beginning that purity is not identifiable with any such terms as „good", „undefiled", or „flawless", but rather with such ideals as „authentic" or „natural". Being pure cannot be equated to being good, as both good and evil can achieve states of

[6] P. Abelsen, "Irony and Purity: Mishima" in *Modern Asian Studies*, Cambridge University Press, Vol. 30, No. 3, 1996, p. 653-4

[7] S. J. Napier, p. 82

[8] Mishima Yukio, *Runaway Horses (The Sea of Fertility 2)*, trans. Michael Gallagher, Kindle edition, Vintage, 2000, chapter 24, para. 2, loc. 4321. Retreived from amazon.com\kindlestore

„purity". However, when speaking about it, Isao refers to ideally ordering these concepts according to his own conviction. That is, in short, „purity": preservation of identity under the certainty of one's own essence:

> "For him there would be no diluting righteousness with evil and evil with righteousness. The evil that he wanted to store within himself had to be pure evil, no less pure than the righteousness within him. (...) In any event, once he had attained his purpose he would turn his sword against himself. At that moment, he felt, the pure evil within him would also die in the clash with the pure righteousness of his act."[9]

To be more specific, the purity that the young Kiyoaki Matsugae, Isao Iinuma, Ying Chan and Tōru Yasunaga have in mind (or execute uncounscioussly, depending on the case), is to repel the current that determines „The Thought of the Age", to destroy „the lowest common denominator", as Honda puts it in *Spring Snow*: „Time. Time is what matters. As time goes by, you and I will be carried inexorably into the mainstream of our period, even though we're unaware of what it is."[10] This is the force inducing the challenge that each of these protagonists sets forth. While Kiyoaki's is a purity of self, Isao's is that of a nation. Each of them strives to align the world according to his own ideals, but where the impossibility lies is within human alterity. One cannot impose his own will upon others and still synchronise with what is acceptable from society's point of view. It is an illusion of a flawless society where one's ideals complement all others', falling together like pieces of a puzzle. In other words, an utopia. But none of them are able to achieve this, as expected, and are removed from the system naturally by what can be called their own instinct of self-preservation, which manifests itself through death. Every reincarnation uses death, as such, as a protector of moral and spiritual wholeness, of identity.

What, then, is each of these four character's notion of purity, and what do they seek to protect? Of course, there are two paradigms within which Mishima places each personal drama, that of Buddhist belief (and also Shintoist belief in *Runaway Horses)*, and of political, historical circumstance. Despite the fact that *Spring Snow* is placed at the outset of the Taishō era, not much is revealed of the social circumstances involved, considering that the main characters belong to the higher echelons of society. The government, which had become rather complex, was strictly elitist, comprising of "members of the Imperial Family, of Nobles, and of Deputies who have been appointed by the Emperor".[11] Other factions essential to the leadership of Japan in this time were bureaucratic leaders, the military, and the business elite, the leaders of the *zaibatsu*, who were gaining power thanks to the industrial growth following the Meiji reforms.[12] Despite what would look as the beginning of yet another prosperous

[9] Mishima, *Runaway Horses*, chapter 23, para. 14, loc. 4212-15
[10] Mishima, *Spring Snow,* chapter 13, para. 25, loc. 1665-66
[11] K.B. Pyle, *The Making of Modern Japan,* Second Edition, D.C. Heath and Company, 1996, p. 164
[12] K.B. Pyle, p. 164-5

age in Japanese history, the Taishō era set the scene for the great economical crisis and the ultranationalist movements that marked the following Shōwa period. With all this in mind, we are given, with the events of *Spring Snow*, nearly no clue of the ominous circumstances that would affect mostly the lower classes. The process of defilement of a pure, traditional Japan is only beginning.

Both Kiyoaki and Honda are nothing more than they appear to be, and their youth provides them with the prospect of choice yet. Both are case studies of the possibilities that are offered by this new age, a struggle that Mishima himself must have suffered. His intellectual endeavours and his passion for a universal, base essentialness are in conflict in the same way that Honda's propensity towards self-preserving life and Kiyoaki/Isao/Ying Chan's towards death and preservation of the pure.

> "He hoped that if he could undo that result by exposing himself to the bright sun and steel of the dumbbells, to acquire a classic, universal, physique, then perhaps his spirit would gain classical strength as well, to make him more valuable a writer and less lonely a man."[13]

This is why one could read *The Sea of Fertility* as a "lifelong struggle between [Mishima's] impulses and unrelenting intellect – the latter represented by Honda"[14]. As such, Honda is the very embodiment of the gradual decay of purity, which he himself predicts, albeit unaware, in his theories about being swept into "The Spirit of the Age". Mishima uses both him and Kiyoaki, as said before, to explore his own possibilites and the consequences of the decisions he might take. He hesitates between the path of Isao, to hold true to his own belief or ideology, no matter what that is, in an ultimate form of conservativism, or embracing Westernisation and abiding by its laws, living on to old age. The anguish felt by most Japanese intellectuals after the conclusion of the Second World War is easily noticeable, as both Mishima and his characters are at a loss as to what is a truer loyalty: death, or to continue living in light of the fact that "Just to die isn't everything. Just holding your life cheap isn't loyalty. In the eys of The Most Revered Son of Heaven, the life of each of the Emperor's treasures is a precious thing."[15] Honda pursues knowledge, and in the process becomes a "leper"[16] – he himself states the impossibility of acquiring knowledge and remaining beautiful. All through the tetralogy we see his downfall, which, in the end, culminates in the promise of absolution. Along with Japan, Honda is changed, he accepts change rather than bending history to his own will. Despite the fact that he accuses Kiyoaki of having no willpower, it is rather the young Matsugae whose will tries to impose itself on history, and, when that fails, he is eliminated from the equation and tries again in

[13] P. Abelsen, p. 657
[14] *Ibid*., p. 659
[15] Mishima, *Runaway Horses,* chapter 38, para. 46, loc. 6850-51
[16] Mishima Yukio, *The Decay of the Angel*, trans. Edward G. Seidensticker, Kindle edition, Vintage, 2001, chapter 12, para. 18, loc. 1303-5. Retreived from amazon.com\kindlestore

his "next life": "Something had remained unfulfilled in Kiyoaki"[17]. In seeking knowledge and truth, Honda then takes an erroneous route – he does not "cross the bridge into sunlight" as Satoko had done, but accumulates false notions which lead him astray. By *The Temple of Dawn*, he replaces the purifying mountain falls with a swimming pool, a clear sign of Westernisation and desanctification. His knowledge of Buddhist theory remains just this: theory.

As such, it is rather Kiyoaki and Isao's approach, or lack thereof, that rings truer to the dharmas of Hossō Buddhism. According to this school, which is, to be certain, a scholastic type of Buddhism, the attachment to the concept of self is meaningless. The Hossō doctrine teaches detachment from this concept, all the while denying any sort of nihilistic approach to non-existence[18]. Thus the idea of *ālaya* awareness is introduced, refering to the association of outside objects with the concepts formed inside personal consciousness, somewhat similarly to Kant's idea of the exterior world existing only inside human cognition. However, what is essential to note is that:

> "actually, all our impressions of the exterior world are delusions; the result of past and present ego-emotional attachments that arise from the Store Consciousness and in turn taint the other seven consciousnesses. (...) Just as the apparently veridical entities posited by consciousness are totally unreal, so the consciousness which stands as an ostensible entity in opposition to them, ans in fact is even affirmed in its existence by them, is equally illusory."[19]

Thus, each identification of an outside object through the *ālaya* awareness is momentary and depends on former impressions of the same illusion. It thus turns into a vessel through which enlightenment becomes possible, by the realisation of the illusory and the comprehension that the self and the alterity are, in fact, oneness: "Because only by the existence of the world – world of illusion – is man given the chance of enlightenment. That the world must exist is thus the ultimate moral requisite. This is the supreme answer of the *ālaya* consciousness as to why the world must be."[20] In his studies regarding the *ālaya* awareness, Honda reaches the conclusion that each instant dies and is renewed endlessly. Then, like indivdual frames of a motion picture, the world permanetly regenerates and therefore maintains, or rather renews its purity; each of Kiyoaki's (or his reincarnation's) instants is ordained by their will to preserve; as their instants are subordinated to them, they are elements subordinated to the *ālaya* consciousness, leading, ultimately, to the conclusion reached by Honda when he meets Satoko, Abbess of Gesshū, in his old age. What Kiyoaki fails to

[17] Mishima, *Runaway Horses,* chapter 19, para. 32, loc. 3664-65

[18] D. Matsunaga, A. Matsunaga, *Foundation of Japanese Buddhism*, Vol. 1, Buddhist Books International, 1996, p.76-94

[19] A. Matsunaga, D. Matsunaga, p.81

[20] Mishima Yukio, *The Temple of Dawn (The Sea of Fertility 3)*, trans. Dale E. Saunders and Cecilia Segawa Seigle, Kindle edition, Vintage, 2001, chapter 19, para. 20-21, loc. 2147-50. Retreived from amazon.com\kindlestore

understand, in his naïveté, is that in light of these "truths", his reordering the world is a futile endeavour.

This all culminates in an ultimate self-application of *mono no aware*, and defines Mishima's own conclusion as to what is the truer path of loyalty. To "terminate life while beautiful people are still young"[21] might prove a certain belief in the aesthetics of evanescence in simple terms, but, on the other hand, an affirmation of non-being: "[Mishima and Genet] see beauty as the self-manifestation of non-being through acts of sacrifice."[22] Kiyoaki lives for "sentiment alone", and he holds true to this decision, and the paroxysm of his life of beauty is reached with the "elegant death" itself. In a sense, removing himself from the system that means only to subordinate him to the dogmas and requirements of society is in itself a mocking display, as ordinated by his own decisions and self purity. Kiyoaki's try to reorder the world is somewhat reminiscent of Nietzsche's dichotomy of Apollonian and Dionyssian in his *The Birth of Tragedy* (it is already widely known that Mishima was an admirer of Nietzsche's nihilistic philosophy, fact that has prompted critics' belief that his treatment of Buddhist religion and the issue of *samsara* in his works is simply scholarly, or even critical). Indeed, the protagonist of *Spring Snow* struggles to create his own Apollonian order (an interesting coincidence being that, among others, Apollo is the god of the sun in Greek Mythology, the very same symbol that stands for Japan and the Emperor) within the Dionysian chaos of the outside world. Considering that, in his exploration regarding the transmigration of souls, Mishima, through Shigekuni Honda, finds clues within the myth of the birth of Dionysus, that he might have resorted to Nietzsche's ideas on the development of tragedy in literature[23] is not altogether impossible. What is interesting to note, however, is that in Honda's findings, Dionysus is actually associated with the Oriental.

> "Dionysus had come from Asia. His worship, which brought frenzy, debauchery, cannibalism, and murder, had its roots in Asia and posed the all-important problem of the soul. The paroxysms of this religion permitted no transparency of reason and no firm, beautiful form for either man or god. It was a religion that attacked the fertility of Greek fields in their Apollonian beauty like a swarm of grasshoppers darkening sun and sky, ravaging them, consuming their harvests."

In relation to the ideas present in The *Birth of Tragedy*, this could be a contradiction. If analysed in the light of Honda's research, it might be that, if Kiyoaki and Isao try to bring Apollonian order to their world, they would contradict the very nature of the Japanese spirit. Such an idea would be nonsensical, especially in

[21] *Ibid*., chapter 25, para. 82, loc. 2850-51

[22] E. Wyschogrod, "Killing the Cat: Sacrifice and Beauty in Genet and Mishima" in *Religion and Literature*, University of Notre Dame, Vol. 25, no. 2, 1993, p. 118

[23] F.W. Nietzsche, *The Birth of Tragedy: Out of the Spirit of Music*, trans. Shaun Whiteside, Penguin Classics, 1994

Isao's case. On the other hand, as noted before, death in Japanese culture is by no means a tragedy, but rather a culmination. As such, the two can be interpreted as the dionysiac side itself, overcome by an inappropriate order and flaming up to an impressive end.

However, none of the four protagonists finds the path to „alignment" completely free of obstacles. They all meet, in one way or another, events that would shake their belief in a way similar to the usage of the kōan in Zen Buddhism,[24] parables and stories intended to induce doubt in the heart of disciples. Kiyoaki is not once brought to doubt by Satoko's attitude (or his impressions of her attitude), while in Isao's mind it is brought about by Sawa's cryptic references to a connection between his father and Busuke Kurahara, the main representative of what he most despises and strives against, the Westernised Japan, forgetful of its own roots. Despite this, while the whole of Isao's struggle is, in hindsight, set against the larger picture of Buddhism, Shinto belief is the one that shapes his immediate decisions. To be exact, the „state Shinto" used by „Japanese governments from the Meiji Restoration of 1868 onwards" [25], which directed „to the development of the militant and fascistic nationalism that led Japan eventually to war"[26], and where:

> „purification (...) is central, an intrinsic aspect of all Shinto (and most other Japanese religious) ritual, transforming and eradicating the impure, removing spiritual obstructions and opening the way to regeneration."[27]

This is an approach that befits the patriotic Isao and brings into better focus the decay of the „nation", and not only of the individual. The young man easily finds peace within his own thoughts with ablution, physical or spiritual (as both in his and Kiyoaki's case the mind is not once compared to a body of water). However, much unlike the waters of Benares, that wash away in purifying chaos all the horrors that Honda beholds, the waters of Japan seem to be „infested", with the Western and the artificial. The falls on the Matsugae's estate, where a dog is found dead but is brought to peace by the Abbess of Gesshū's sermons, the Sanko Falls, the rivers of India, all flowing, moving, and thus single-minded bodies of water that create their own path are replaced with Honda's swimming pool, „a cruel attempt to float his sagging decrepit flesh in an abundance of blue water".[28]

Even in Tōru's case, where the decay in which he was born has determined him to a purity of „evil", the struggle to establish the rule of his own law prompts one who had „nothing to do but gaze"[29] to action, in order to prove he is „elect", an angel. Albeit it is not a reference to the angels in a strictly Christian sense, but to

[24] I. Reader, *Religion in Contemporary Japan*, Macmillan, 1991, p. 77-89
[25] *Ibid*., p. 55
[26] *Ibid*., p. 55-56
[27] *Ibid*., p. 68
[28] Mishima, *The Temple of Dawn,* chapter 36, para. 4, loc. 3848-50
[29] Mishima, *The Decay of the Angel,* chapter 3, para. 27, loc. 311-12

the *devas* of Buddhism, the fact that they are not necessarily benevolent creatures (similarly to humans, they are free to choose their own path and have an inherent Buddha Nature that can be awakened)[30], turns Tōru into an agent of punishment, fulfilling his duty of plunging the mediocre into hell. In a last, desperate attempt at purification, he pits his anger against Honda, a representative of the old age, a despicable concept in traditionalistic view: „And Japan was teeming with old people."[31] When he utterly fails, in a final attempt, the angel decays, and even those born with a second nature dedicated to opposing the old and deprived of will lose their purpose. „The soiled hand of sanctity"[32] that had not touched Japan is, in fact, the single-minded purity of those who are not necessarily „good", but impose what is proper, what is their own. Through the new order, Japan had been wiped clean of its identity, its own singular purity, like „hands vigurously scoured with soap".[33] This is Tōru's failing, where he does not realise that the corruption cannot be eliminated when it has infested the whole.

Although the conclusion to Tōru's duty is not optimistic in any way, the „angel" showing all five signs of its decay and failing to the overcoming impure world, Honda, who has been utterly forsaken by beauty, is not left without the prospect of salvation when he meets Satoko, whose „age had sped in the direction not of decay, but of purification". By embracing both nothingness and oneness, in a place removed from the flow of time and social turmoil, one is given the option of becoming free from the illusion of all things past.

Thus, Mishima places in front of the reader what is more or less his own struggle to decide what is the path of righteousness, in an „exhilaration that lies at the basis of both sacrifice and literature because what compels and excites in sacrificial ritual and literature is „what uses up our strength and our resources and, if necessary, places our life in danger"".[34] In a way similar to their author, the four reincarnations of *The Sea of Fertility* exert their own force of creation, not in a godlike burst of matter from nothingness, but with the simple power that the individual dictates on history, as insignificant as that might be.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Mishima Yukio, *Spring Snow (The Sea of Fertility 1),* trans. Michael Gallagher, Kindle edition, London: Vintage, 2000. Retrieved from amazon.com\kindlestore

Mishima Yukio, *Runaway Horses (The Sea of Fertility 2)*, trans. Michael Gallagher, Kindle edition, London: Vintage, 2000. Retrieved from amazon.com\kindlestore

[30] A. Matsunaga, D. Matsunaga
[31] Mishima, *The Decay of the Angel,* chapter 26, para. 27, loc. 2985
[32] *Ibid*., chapter 9, para. 6, loc. 987-90
[33] *Ibid*.
[34] E. Wyschogrod, p. 107

Mishima Yukio, *The Temple of Dawn (The Sea of Fertility 3)*, trans. Dale E. Saunders and Cecilia Segawa Seigle, Kindle edition, London: Vintage, 2001. Retrieved from amazon.com\kindlestore

Mishima Yukio, *The Decay of the Angel (The Sea of Fertility 4)*, trans. Edward G. Seidensticker, Kindle edition, London: Vintage, 2001. Retrieved from amazon.com\kindlestore

Napier, Susan J: "Death and the Emperor: Mishima, Ōe, and the Politics of Betrayal" in *The Journal of Asian Studies*, Association for Asian Studies, Vol. 48, No. 1, 1989, pp. 71-89

Abelsen, Peter: "Irony and Purity: Mishima" in *Modern Asian Studies*, Cambridge University Press, Vol. 30, No. 3, 1996, pp. 651-679

Pyle, Kenneth B.: *The Making of Modern Japan,* Second Edition, Lexington, Massachusetts: D.C. Heath and Company, 1996

Matsunaga Daigan, Matsunaga Alicia: *Foundation of Japanese Buddhism*, Vol. 1, Los Angeles: Buddhist Books International, 1996

E. Wyschogrod, "Killing the Cat: Sacrifice and Beauty in Genet and Mishima" in *Religion and Literature*, University of Notre Dame, Vol. 25, no. 2, 1993, pp. 105-119

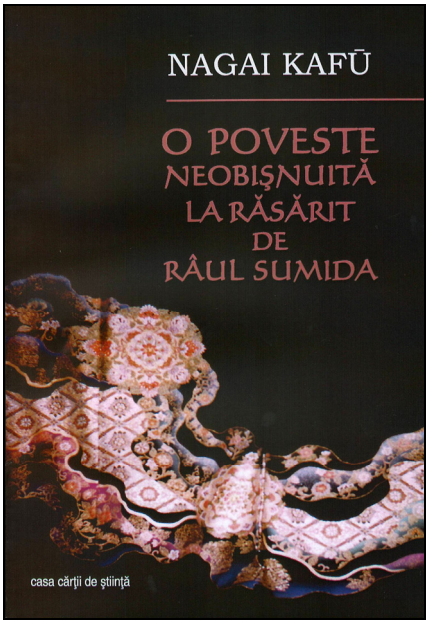
I. Reader, *Religion in Contemporary Japan*, London: Macmillan Press LTD, 1991

F.W. Nietzsche, *The Birth of Tragedy: Out of the Spirit of Music*, trans. Shaun Whiteside, London: Penguin Classics, 1994

STUDIA UBB PHILOLOGIA, LVIII, 1, 2013, p. 267 - 271
(RECOMMENDED CITATION)

BOOK REVIEWS

Nagai Kafū, *O poveste neobișnuită la răsărit de râul Sumida*
(*A Strange Tale from East of the River)*, traducere de Rodica Frențiu,
Cluj-Napoca: Casa Cărții de Știință, 2011, 85 p.



Japanese literature has a special force of seduction which will eventually entrap its reader and turn the pleasure of reading into an addiction. Nagai Kafū, esteemed writer of the early 20th century, in his *A Strange Tale from East of the River (Bokutō Kidan)* creates a world particular of the Japanese sensibility, a world with which some may encounter difficulties to relate, especially those new to this area of literature.

The novel, published in 1937, surprises in its structure. The most appealing compositional device is the insertion of a novel within the novel (*Shissō / Disappearance*) and that of other literary fragments and poems. Being written as a first person narrative, the autobiographical touch strengthens the well-acclaimed sensation of authenticity and comes to the reader's aid in his process of connecting to the fictional world depicted. The oscillation between the 'I' from the frame novel and that from the inner novel denotes a characteristic of the Japanese prose and verse, namely ambiguity.

The writing does not impress in terms of plot, but an advised reader has come to understand that the beauty and value of many Japanese works of fiction stand in the craftsmanship with which the author weaves the setting, the ambiance and the impact that these have on the psychological fabric of the characters and not the mere development of plot. Through the eyes of a 58 year old writer, Ōe Tadasu, the work of Nagai Kafū explores aspects of the life of a marginalized community (that of courtesans and geishas) and captures the changes in landscape and mentality specific to a society in course of reconstruction (after the 1923 earthquake in Tokyo) and modernization. Ōe Tadasu, during one of his walks in search for inspiration, meets by a twist of fate a woman, O-yuki, who will gain his affections and become his literary muse. The topic of literary inspiration and creation of belletristic art is elaborated throughout the novel, to the extent that *A Strange Tale from East of the River* becomes the source of inspiration for the inner novel *Disappearance*.

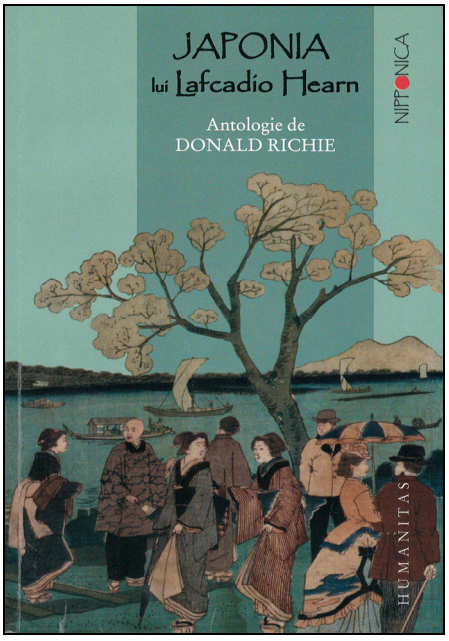
Another point of focus is the author's skill in painting the atmosphere of Ōe Tadasu's world. The depiction is so vividly achieved that at times the reader can sense the heat and humidity of those summer days or even the mosquito menace.

Nostalgia (for a glorified past) and inner loneliness can be sensed round the novel, especially in the illustration of the colours and the movement of the city, artistry that reaches out to the sensitive Japanese soul.

The act of translating from Japanese is a strenuous task to undertake. By combining work dedication with her understanding of the Japanese culture, Rodica Frențiu succeeded in offering the Romanian readership a remarkable translation, by means of which they can become acquainted with the exotic Japanese universe. It bears not the sole purpose of fictional entertainment, but also a greater one, that of promoting a literature rich in imagery and of value yet to be properly prized.

CODRUȚA ROXIN
(codrutaroxin@yahoo.com)

Lafcadio Hearn. *Japonia lui Lafcadio Hearn. Antologie de Donald Richie*, (Lafcadio Hearn's Japan: An Anthology of His Writings), Bucureşti: Humanitas, 2010, 280 p.



A unique cultural perspective on the Orient is offered by "Lafcadio Hearn's Japan: An Anthology of His Writings" a book which has been translated and published in Romanian in 2010. With a preface by Donald Richie, the book reveals an outlook on Japan at the turn of the 19th century which remains fresh and attractive as a result of Japan's consistency in upholding spirituality, superstitions and traditional values. The world pictured emanates mysticism, emotion and a type of sensibility specific only to the people Lafcadio Hearn had been sent to analyze in response to an increased avidity for knowledge of the exotic. This anthology is a tribute to an effort to document and record expanding over a period of 14 years and embodying diverse aspects of Japanese rituals and society, unusual people, millennia old traditions and fantastic superstitions. The work also aims to trace the differences in style and tone adopted by the author faced with clashing systems of thought and representation.

The work is divided in two parts, one in which the author focuses on the characteristics of the land and his home, and another rooted in the specificities of the Japanese culture and people. The first subchapter of the

book, "Strangeness and charm" embodies Lafcadio's reactions upon a first encounter with the mystery and fascination of Japan and a much more objective later mental image bound to an increasing sense of frustration empowered by his constant difficulties with understanding not only the linguistic environment, but also the mechanisms according to which the mentality and psychology of the Japanese operate.

The first part also aims to illustrate the chasm in perception which has been afforded by centuries of untangential cultural development between the Orient and the West. "In a Japanese Garden", Lafcadio extrapolates on the humbling effect a demonstration of *ikebana*, Japanese flower arrangement had had upon his artistic taste, and how this had afforded him a new vision of the artistic. At the same time, he tries to give the reader an idea of the art of gardening as sophistication achieved through simplicity and control. He describes how effects of depth and perspective can be achieved through the artistry of the gardener, and how a single stone, tree, or plant can be made into an artistic declaration. "A letter from Japan" written during the Russian-Japanese war of 1905, attempts to illustrate the atmosphere of calm confidence throughout the conflict. Stoicism, pride and sacrifice are considered by the author to be attributes bred as a consequence of an existence marked by crisis and cataclysm, characteristic to a land as exposed to the wrath of natural phenomena as Japan is. The author acknowledges that in the context of aversion, the multitude of superstitions are necessary to give an irrational fate a cohesive explanation, in tone with the prevalent cultural specificity. Misfortunes are thus the direct result of a bad karma expanding sometimes over the length of several reincarnations, of unkind spirits, demon foxes or spirit inhabited animals and ghosts make their anger known long after death. Each animate or inanimate element is embodied by a spirit one of the 8000 gods of the Japanese plethora to which people show gratitude everyday as part of a ritual which astounds the Western reporter through its universal manifestation and consistency. "In the Cave of the Children's Ghosts" the power of belief overrides the author's skeptical outlook and draws him into this world of superstitious representations.

The second part of the work focuses on the people, their cultural and spiritual particularities, bringing together stories, legends and experiences which Lafcadio had gathered throughout the years. In this part his vision is influenced by disappointment with his personal failure to reach the core of Japanese spirituality and to understand the mentality of the people whose monograph he was aiming to accurately record. We are introduced to the principle of "mamori" which can protect one from evil spirits, send the spirit of the dead mother to feed her child or the faithful servant to his master to warn of danger, to name only a few of the beliefs tied to this type of amulet. The themes discussed in this part are diverse and encompassing: the characteristics of women's hair, the recollection of a man lost at sea, a robbery, the power of music in communicating feeling, bridging differences in spite of the lack of a shared linguistic code, etc. We are briefly introduced to the world of the *geisha* through the anecdote of Kimiko, we participate to a Japanese play through the eyes of the author and we learn of suicide and the pivotal role it has in Japanese culture, but also of *junshi*, or love suicide, an act shrouded in myth and superstition. In one of the stories, a tumor in the neck is associated with a failed *junshi*, an act which calls the dead lover to torture the one still alive. Yet another odd case speaks of love beyond the grave and betrayal, as well as about the possibility of knowing the far past and future through proper training of the mind and of the spirit in "A Passional Karma".

The book was a light and enjoyable read, the selection of texts aiming at offering an image of the ample culture of Japan, while issuing more questions that it manages to an-

swer. Putting together the fragments of memory, recollection and history one barely touches the richness of Japanese life and belief. Characteristic to this anthology is its similarity to the highest forms of Calligraphy, *Shodou*, which exploits the valences of meaning resulting not from the spread of ink itself, but in the empty spaces at the borderline of what we, according to the Western canon, are taught to consider the represented. Lafcadio's vision acts as a catalyst of views and impressions of his own search of an authentic Japan, one constructed according to the mental predisposition he had had upon his arrival. The book prompts more question and fascination, an effort to interpret similar to that initially experienced by the author himself, as the reader attempts to reconstruct his own vision of Japan.

OANA-MEDA PĂLOȘANU
(meda_wan@yahoo.com)

Rodica Frențiu, *Clar-obscur, vag și ambiguitate... Avataruri ale literaturii japoneze moderne și contemporane* [*Claire-obscure, Vagueness and Ambiguity… Hallmarks of Modern and Contemporary Japanese Literature*], Cluj-Napoca: Casa Cărții de Știință, 2010, 230 p.

Rodica Frențiu is a PhD, Reader, currently chief of the Department of Asian Studies at the Faculty of Letters at Babeș-Bolyai University in Cluj-Napoca. Her academic portfolio includes philological and linguistic studies and a number of translations from Japanese writers such as Mori Ōgai and Nagai Kafū. Also, Rodica Frențiu enjoys both national and international acknowledgement of her artistic work in the field of Japanese calligraphy, participating at numerous exhibitions in Romania as in Japan and having also published several books in this field.

The study entitled *Claire-obscure, Vagueness and Ambiguity... Hallmarks of Modern and Contemporary Japanese Literature* subscribes itself in the peculiarity of the Japanese conceptual framework among other volumes such as *Speriat din vis de vântul hoinar... Studii de semiotică a culturii și poetică japoneză* [*Scared out of My Dream by*

the Wandering Wind… Studies of Cultural Semiotics and Japanese Poetry] released in 2004 at the same publishing house or *Haruki Murakami. Jocul metaforic al lumilor alternative* [*Haruki Murakami. The Metaphorical Play of the Alternative Worlds,* Cluj-Napoca: Argonaut Publishing House, 2007].

The present book qualifies itself as a study that has the capacity to combine together cultural, literary and also linguistic perspectives and approaches, given thus the interdisciplinary quality of it. The core of the book is represented by "ambiguity" (jap. *aimai*) seen as a universal or fundamental 'law'. Consequently, the key towards "decoding" the Japanese universe resides in acknowledging the omnipotence of "ambiguity, uncertainty, possibility and probability" (6). Moreover, the author, Rodica Frențiu, highlights the fact that on the basis of this governing ambiguity, the individual is much more likely an interpreter than a decoder (27).

The study approaches ideas from the sphere of Semiotics (Yoshihiko Ikegami, Roland Barthes), Sociology (Francis Fukuyama) and even Zen Buddhism doctrine. Its structure is divided into three sections each corresponding to a level of ambiguity: *The Ambiguity of the World*, *The Ambiguity of the "I"* and *The Ambiguation of Ambiguity*.

As regards the main ideas that revolve around these sections: firstly, the study sets out to situate the axis of ambiguity at the verge of the interplay of the "real world" with the "imaginary world" (as in the case of Mori Ōgai and Yasunari Kawabata's novels).

Secondly, the study views ambiguity as a result of the constant intertwining of the narrative line (as in Nagai Kafū's *A Strange Tale from East of the River*); and in addition it explores the realm of Yukio Mishima's "thymos" and Haruki Murakami's perspective upon the ambiguous Self and the new possible ways of experiencing reality – in the context of an identity crisis.

And thirdly, the study analyses the position of Haruki Murakami as a postmodern writer whose works therefore deal with the principle of indeterminacy of meaning (173).

In the 'concluding chapter', entitled *Ambiguity at the Foundation of the Contemporary World: Kenzaburō Ōe, Aimaina Nihon no Watashi (Japan, the Ambiguous and Myself),* Rodica Frențiu tries to offer a thorough definition of the phenomenon of "ambiguity" for her readers. Starting from Ōe's suggestion, *aimai* is to be interpreted in the light of the ambivalent character of a contemporary Japan that is segmented by two vectors: one that is orientated towards the desire of alignment to the Western model and another one that is consistent with the preservation of national specifics.

All in all, the book provides interesting insights into the Japanese culture and mentality, not only for those who are engaged in academic studies, but also for the ones passionate about the Japanese universe.

ELISABETA-LEPOSAVA POPESCU
(elisabetapopescu@nipon.ro)